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CONSIDERATIONS
ON THE
CAUSES
AND
ALARMING CONSEQUENCES
OF THE
PRESENT WAR,
AND THE
NECESSITY OF IMMEDIATE
PEACE.

BY A GRADUATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

Tolerabilis esset, si res Eorum, quorum interest, monomachiis finiretur. Sed quid commeruere cives et agricolæ, qui spoliantur fortunis, exiguntur sedibus, trahuntur captivi, trucidantur, ac laniantur? O ferreos principum animos, si hæc perpendunt, ac ferunt: ô crassos, si non intelligunt; supinos, si non expendunt.

ERASMUS TO BERALDUS.

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P R E F A C E.

THE following pages were written before the opening of the present Campaign. It was thought necessary to mention this circumstance, to account for the Author's silence on some recent facts. The Bill for raising a Corps of Emigrants would not have passed unnoticed, had not the Manuscript been sent to the Press before its introduction to the House; since it forms an important æra in the progress of the war, and must consequently be interesting to all classes of Readers. The Author might have been accused of misrepresentation by Aristocratic Readers, if any such look into this Pamphlet, in describing the affairs of France in so flourishing a state, after the late dispatches from the Duke of York, if the period at which

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he wrote had not reconciled the seeming incongruity : his silence on the meditated subsidy for Prussia might have offended the friends of Reform, had it not been evident that he wanted opportunity to animadvert on the measure as it deserved. It will not be improper to say a few words on each of these subjects.

Had the Author conceived that any subsequent events had in the least degree invalidated the force of his arguments, he would have suppressed the publication : but being convinced that every new transaction only confirms the necessity of a change in our politics, he submits his "Considerations" with deference to those, who interest themselves in such speculations.

With regard to the King of Prussia's secession, and subsequent demands, they fully shew that the suspicions of his sincerity, expressed in the first chapter of this work, were well founded ; and may operate as a warning to our credulous Administration, not to place impli-

cit confidence in the royal assurances of their other Allies. That such exorbitant demands are likely to be complied with by a British Parliament, affords an occasion for such reflections, as it would not be prudent in an Author to suggest.

At the close of the last Campaign, the French were making rapid incursions into Germany; of which notice has been taken in the second chapter: the Combined Armies are at this time advancing into France, and the triumphant style of our late Gazettes may by some be thought to refute those arguments, founded on the military prowess of our Antagonists. But there is no foundation for such an opinion. As the Campaign advances, the hopes and fears of either party will be alternately agitated by the vicissitudes of war; uninterrupted success is seldom the lot of an invading army; and where the courage and conduct of the invaded is acknowledged, we know not how soon the aggressors may be compelled to retrace their steps, and renounce their hopes of conquest for the safety
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of retreat. Nor would this assertion be invalidated, if the Combined Armies were within twenty miles of Paris: should they ever penetrate far into the enemy's country, let them beware of the fate of the Duke of Brunswick, and remember that to retire is often attended with more difficulty than to advance.

In the mean time, though the forces of the Allied Powers have effected a footing in the French territory, we do not find the predictions of Ministers verified: the late accounts from the Continent do not inform us, that the inhabitants flock to the standard of Royalty, or receive with any symptoms of gratitude these forcible Champions of their interests.

The Emigrant corps has been hinted at towards the conclusion of the fourth chapter; a short observation will be sufficient for it here. A measure more replete with cruelty, more embarrassing or more expensive was never adopted; it carries the termination of the war,

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as far as depends on the movers of it, to an infinite distance; it unveils the real designs of Administration, and exposes the hypocrisy of their pretexts: the war is now acknowledged to be for the restoration of Despotism and Aristocracy.

The following pages were partly written, with the hope of impressing some minds with a more just idea of our present situation. The Author has not so inordinate a share of vanity, nor is he so entirely unacquainted with the political world, as to imagine that any suggestions will gain the attention of Statesmen, which proceed from an obscure writer, unsupported by party: but being convinced that multitudes of private persons support Administration in their different capacities, only because they are not accustomed to think on the subject of government, he wishes to lead such persons to investigate the conduct of their public servants, and to awaken in them a sense of their duty as Members of the Community. But a considerable inducement to
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the Author to publish his sentiments at this time, was that he might assert the privilege of an individual, in imminent danger in these days of prosecution : the privilege of declaring opinions adverse to the ruling powers, and of canvassing with freedom the public measures of public men.

May 1, 1794.

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CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE SITUATION AND RESOURCES OF ENGLAND.

WHEN men are engaged in any project, prudence points out the following considerations to their notice. Their first concern will be, to form an exact estimate of the powers, which themselves possess for the accomplishment of their purposes: their second, to inquire into the obstacles which rivals may interpose for the counteraction of their designs; to which the last and most important succeeds; from a comparison of the force employed on either side, and the balance of probabilities, to determine on their course of action; to persevere with spirit in confidence of merited success, or desist with prudence from consciousness of inferiority.

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Much

Much is it to be regretted, that this rational procedure should have been deemed unnecessary, by those who preside in the Councils of this Nation : believing that the voice of warning may yet be heard with advantage, that the path to which reason directs is not yet irrecoverable, I would strenuously insist on the necessity of attending to the foregoing considerations.

Let us enter upon the discussion of the first article : let us consider the circumstances in which we stand ; the powers which are allotted us, to attain the end proposed. Now in the performance of this office, it will become us not to imitate the conduct of certain Statesmen in Office, who represent every occurrence in the most flattering point of view ; but to enter on the subject with manliness and a spirit of improvement ; to examine the unfavourable side of the question with severity, that we may obviate its difficulties ; and to appreciate the talent we possess with scrupulous exactness, that we may not overstep the boundaries of moderation.

But before I enter on the discussion of my subject, let me enter my caveat against those
mistakes

mistakes or misrepresentations, to which authors of my particular sentiments are constantly exposed : let the tendency of the following pages be thoroughly understood ; to institute an inquiry, whether the present measures of the King's Ministers will promote the real interests of the country ; or whether different principles of conduct may not be necessary to avert those national calamities, prognosticated by the inauspicious soothsayers of the Opposition. But here the cautious writer stops ; he ventures not in the present crisis to suggest the possibility of imperfection in a system, which enables the Servants of the Crown to influence, if not control, the Representatives of the Nation ; he allows himself not to imagine that the welfare of the community, either in the present or in any possible state of affairs, cannot be secured without a radical Reform ; he accedes without examination to the favorite position of the day, that the House of Commons were never intended to represent the people at large : should it even be further insisted, that the people at large never ought to be represented, he will compliment the supporters of these opinions with a carte-blanche upon the subject : into perilous disquisitions concerning the British Constitu-

tion,

tion, he is not prepared to plunge : he confesses himself profane ; unworthy to be initiated into the sacred mysteries of Government : he entertains an adequate sense of the blessings he undeservingly enjoys ; and subscribes with deference to the propriety of certain prosecutions, and the delicacy with which the sacred privileges, freedom of speech, and the liberty of the press, have been treated in the late equitable and humane sentences. Influenced by sentiments like these, he fears not to incur any unfavorable imputation from the admirers of the present men and measures, if he endeavours to turn their attention to subjects, on which they do not appear to have thought, and to recommend a mode of proceeding to which they do not seem at present to be favorably inclined.

The steps which I mean to pursue, I have before enumerated ; and, apologizing for this explanatory digression, I shall proceed to investigate the real situation of this country, and the powers with which it is invested. And here I must premise, that as far as an offensive war against France is concerned, the picture I shall draw, will be that of imbecility, not of strength ; I shall be obliged to substitute im-

tence for power, and shall have occasion to speak of burdens more frequently than of resources. It might be deemed presumptuous in an unknown writer to enter so freely into subjects of this nature, which have engaged the attention of the first literary characters, did not the complexion of the age plead in his justification. But political inquiries are become such general topics of study, not solely to the statesman, the scholar, or the speculative recluse, but to mankind at large in the professional, the mercantile, even the laborious classes, that any man of common sense, who has read or thought on such matters with earnestness, may communicate the opinions he has formed, unawed by the imputation of temerity.

The embarrassments, occasioned to this country by the American war, are too feelingly remembered by the public to need recapitulation: the privation of territory in which that unhappy contest ended, is by this time generally acknowledged to have been a blessing; but the addition of a hundred millions to our debt has eclipsed the brightest glories of Great-Britain; has disabled her from arresting the Despots of the Continent in their career of conquest,

conquest, and forbidden her poets and historians any longer to hail her the Patroness of Liberty, or the Champion of the Human race. Declamation and argument were unremittingly employed to deprecate the imposition of burdens so severe: the accession of six millions annually to the standing taxes, not inconsiderable before, excited in the breast of the people the mingled emotions of dissatisfaction and despondency; the public discontent alarmed the Administration of the country; and a change of system was reluctantly adopted, because destruction seemed to impend over the prosecution of hostilities. Thus was the American, like all ambitious wars, marked with calamity in its progress, and disgrace in its conclusion. But the lenient hand of peace administered timely relief to the disorders of the political constitution, and the prosperity by which its abode with us was accompanied, exceeded the hopes of the most sanguine. In such a situation, when the return of reason might enable us to repair the violences committed in the hour of insanity, should we not have persisted in availing ourselves of the blessed opportunity? That we ought to unite with heart and hand for the prolongation of tranquillity; to direct the
energy

energy of the national character to the improvement of our manufactures and the extension of our commerce, the proper sources of our political consequence ; to atone for past extravagance by the future economy of our establishment ; was repeatedly and strenuously enforced by the ablest Statesmen, the most sensible writers, and the most enlightened philosophers of the time. By a system like this, and by the diligent cultivation of those liberal and philanthropic principles, on which the fabric of our constitution is said to have been erected, it would have been within our grasp to have been the foremost, among the nations of Europe, in the cause of patriotism, virtue, and universal benevolence. This was the theatre worthy of our exertions ; on this stage our powers would have been displayed with advantage ; but in the sanguinary tragedy at present exhibited to the world, the lot of Great-Britain is cast among the inferior characters of the *dramatis personæ* ; like the messenger of the ancient drama, she is saddled with the unthankful office of developing the plot ; while the heroes and demigods of Germany and Prussia are entrapping the applause of the spectators, by the lofty sentiments, with which they gloss the selfishness of their designs.

When

When the present Minister came into office, he was thought, by some of his partizans, to have been sent from Heaven : and to prove the divinity of his mission, he professed to enter upon the great work of Redemption : the plans of the ablest financiers were collected, and their merits assumed by the great Law-giver and Prophet ; Dr. Price* favored him with three unacknowledged communications, and the least efficient of the three was adopted. This however was the epoch at which our Salvation is said to have commenced : the prosperity of the nation was gradually to be regenerated, and the praises of the country's guardian angel were reiterated from one end of the island to the other. There were indeed who thought, that the means were inadequate to the end ; that the statements were fallaciously represented ; and that his object with regard to the people was their amusement more than their benefit. How far these objections were founded, I am not competent to judge ; but there were others who thought (and among their numbers I am happy to

* I have derived my information on this subject from the Doctor's relation and friend, Mr. Morgan ; who in a pamphlet of a few pages has by a plain tale completely put down the Minister.

mention Mr. Burke, whose mind the French Revolution had not then palsied) that exertions of a different nature must co-operate with the preceding, before the intended effect could be produced. Prudence in the management of our foreign and domestic concerns; the reformation of abuses, the reduction of idle retainers on our different establishments, and the security of independence to the House of Commons, were measures which it was not then deemed sedition to recommend.

These doctrines the son of Chatham had at his entrance into life embraced and taught; and it was expected, that what he had so liberally promised while in the minority, he would have attempted to perform when in office. But how inconsistent with himself is the same man, when from being the advocate of the people, he is translated to the service of the Crown! Those enviable improvements for which the Patriot labours, are innovations dangerous to the Minister; right and wrong, liberty and slavery alter their natures, as he changes his place; and methods less detrimental to himself must be found, or the welfare of society must be abandoned. Thus were the aspiring hopes of those, who called themselves the

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friends

friends of Reform, extinguished: but the prospect, though distant, of relief from burden, supported and animated the spirits of the public: few were competent to criticize the means proposed; all were solicitous for the fulfilment of the end. In this situation of affairs, the tranquillity of the country, the spirited exertions of commercial men, and the rapidity of improvement observable among the people, the effect of peace, and of its probable continuance, were attributed by Courtiers and Parasites to the projects of the Minister. But even he, when expatiating on his success at each succeeding Convention of Parliament, uniformly confessed, that the accomplishment of his intention, depended on the permanence of tranquillity, and the consequent vigour of public credit. Nor could the most obstinate assertor of our national superiority, flatter himself with the maintenance of that superiority, if with such a complication of debts already incurred, and with such increased expences even on our peace establishment, we were to be implicated so speedily in another war; which must not only overturn the Minister's theory of Finance, but reduce him again to the practice of taxation. But it will be a necessary step in this investigation, to examine the

the grounds on which we are committed, the cause in which our powers are to be exerted. That the debt of the country was enormous ; that the taxes which must be levied annually for the payment of its interest, and for the current expences of the Executive Government, pressed most severely on the industrious poor, even during a time of peace ; the experience of every man will certify : and from hence I have drawn a fair conclusion, that nothing but the most inevitable necessity should have induced us to have plunged deeper into the ocean of difficulty, or to have again braved the torrent, which had before so nearly overwhelmed us. This reasoning has been sedulously applied, when it happened to be in unison with the wishes of Administration. Why did Great-Britain, so forward in arrogating to herself the limitation of conquest, continue a silent spectator at the scandalous dismemberment of Poland ? Why were not the subscriptions of individuals rendered effective by the interference of Government ? Because the situation of our Finances rendered it unadvisable for us to mediate between the Continental Powers : because prudence must supplant generosity ; because our domestic prosperity must not be sacrificed to the interests of humanity. Oh that this frigid

gid caution, which arrested us from succouring a cause so noble, had not been disdained, when we were committed to the support of Aristocracy! When the rights of an independent nation were usurped by foreign invaders, policy induced us to remain inactive spectators; but no sooner have the French asserted their independence, by establishing a Republic, than all the suggestions of œconomy are forgotten; the burdens imposed by former wars are to be augmented, reasons for discontent to be renewed, pecuniary difficulties enhanced, we know not to what extent, while dangers, of which the mention is too awful to be hazarded, may result from the conduct we pursue. And to what end are we voluntarily relinquishing our brighter prospects? To combat a shadow, terrific in appearance; but whose corporeal existence has never been verified; to avert a mischief whose nature is undefined, and whose operation has never been ascertained by experience: to exterminate the spirit of liberty from among a people, lest the dæmon of licentiousness should contaminate its purity: in short, we have been so eager to range ourselves under the banner of royalty, that we have deserted from the standard of humanity.

But

But we must not leave unrefuted the assertions of the Alarmists : they call the present a war of self-defence ; and talk of the wanton and unprovoked aggression of France, without which we had still remained, both at home and abroad, in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace. Partial and uncandid representation !—founded on fiction and unsupported by evidence. The following turn is given to the story. The French, in the end of the year 1792, had formed a daring project ; which aimed at nothing less than the dissolution of our government ; and in this laudable purpose, they were to be abetted by a party here, who had already sounded the trumpet of sedition. What were the intentions of this formidable band, we have been in a great measure left to conjecture : but from the horror which they inspired, suspicion cannot stop short of an embrio conspiracy, by which our gracious Monarch was to be dethroned ; a bloody anarchy erected on the ruins of order and protection, and our insular independence annihilated by an unnatural union with France. Thus was the tocsin sounded, by which the good people of England were terrified into acquiescence in Mr. Pitt's measures ; nay, multitudes were so beside themselves as to rejoice
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in the hostile determinations of the British Cabinet. But Ministers knew in their consciences, that conspiracies in the metropolis, and invasions from the continent were the offspring of their own prolific brain, or the fabrications of their dependents, for the double purpose of interesting the passions of the multitude, and assassinating the reputation of the patriotic societies. Both in the House of Commons, and elsewhere, persons in office, who must, if any, have intelligence of such illegal proceedings, have been repeatedly challenged to produce instances of disaffection : but they have uniformly hurried from facts to declamation ; and though lavish in general invective, have been incompetent to the accusation of individuals. They recollect with regret that themselves, improvidently as it has turned out, together with the most enlightened members of the community, have long since expressed a desire, that an amendment in the Administration of public affairs might be effected ; they have directed the minds and conversation of men to this subject ; and multifarious have been the opinions and theories of the literary and political world. In all this there was no great harm ; but they have stimulated in the people at large, even in the lower classes, an appetite
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for information ; they have opened their eyes to the perception of reason ; and now, when it is too late, they endeavour by alarm to stifle the sensations they have awakened ; to precipitate the adult man into second childhood. But though considerable has been the alteration which the minds of the people have undergone, there never has been, as I firmly believe, any system, at home or abroad, by which the government of this country was to be subverted, or either of its constituent parts abolished ; no assemblies have been held, but, according to the phrase in vogue, upon constitutional grounds ; the popular societies, so universal throughout the kingdom, have not merited the epithets with which they have been branded ; nor has the delusion hitherto been generally successful, by which patriotism was to be confounded with treason.

But it is well known, that the cry of danger in the State was merely a pretext : to those who wish to discover the true reason for this clamour, by which the feelings of popular indignation have been artfully excited, we need only point out the discussions and controversies, which originated with Mr. Burke, and which were gradually directing the attention
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of the public to the necessity of a substantial Reform. To suppress opinions, fatal to the perpetuation of abuses, though auspicious to the restoration of order and happiness, was the object for which the Associations of Pensioners were formed. In the beginning of the French Revolution, Mr. Burke, relying on the prowess, with which he was wont to wield his pen in the cause of Liberty, thought proper, for reasons best known to himself, to desert to the standard of Aristocracy. But he went from the stronger to the weaker party; his former Allies were converted into powerful Antagonists; nor could the warmth of his descriptions or the brilliancy of his imagination withstand the conviction, which the sound sense and cogent arguments of his competitors forced upon the minds of the people. It was hoped that his eloquence would have prejudiced his admiring countrymen against the incipient exertions of the French: but when experience on the contrary proved, that the rough, but energetic appeals of Paine interested men's passions in the success of their augmented struggles, a new system of policy was to be adopted; the ebullitions of honest zeal were to be restrained by the timidity of prudence; freedom of opinion was to be

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curbed

curbed by apprehensions of political insecurity ; and two mighty powers were to be precipitated into enmity, lest the reason of this nation should control the ambition of its Governors.

These I, in my conscience, believe to have been the private motives for the war ; but an opportunity occurred, which partly relieved Administration from the odium attendant on such a measure : France anticipated our declaration ; and exulting in the intemperance of her spirit, Mr. Pitt repulsed the attacks of the Opposition by pleading the want of an alternative. The jealous forwardness of France was indeed unfortunate ; since it gave a temporary popularity to the war in this country, which all the artifices of the Alarmists were not able to excite. And yet if we examine into circumstances, the conduct of the French will not furnish the justification of Ministers : it would be idle, it would be impudent to deny, that hostilities were determined here previously to the aggression of our neighbours : it must further be admitted, that our intentions were manifest to them ; and that the consequences, whether good or ill, are of our own seeking, and rest upon our own
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heads. It is well known by those, who have visited France since the Revolution, and whose residence in the country, enabled them to judge with certainty of the public temper, that hostile designs against England formed no feature in their Politics; on the contrary, the Convention, as a mirror in which the countenance of the people was reflected, and the people themselves deprecated a war with that island, which they were desirous to consider as the cradle of liberty: peace with England, said they, and we challenge the continent of Europe; we thirst for the blood of despotic Kings, of Aristocratic Generals, and servile armies; but let Britannia watch the combat at a distance, arbitrate between the combatants, and bestow her smile of approbation on the victories of virtue and humanity. Such were the sentiments which the writer of these pages was accustomed to hear at every table d'hôte which he frequented, when at Paris in the summer of 1791. Such would still have been the prevailing sentiments, had not the movers of our government deviated from the direct path of plain dealing into the obliquities of state policy. But when they saw the inclinations of the British Cabinet pointing towards hostilities, when they

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observed

observed the anxiety with which they courted opportunities for pursuing those inclinations, the enthusiasm of their admiration was diminished : when the communications of their Ambassador began to be disregarded by our court ; when he was treated with personal coldness and disdain, the fervour of their friendship for us was likely to abate : when this right of modelling their own government began to be called in question, resentment succeeded to the spirit of fraternity, and precipitated them into declarations of defiance. But can it be denied that their conduct was the consequence of ours ? Did not we “ marshal them the way that they should go ? ” They did not adopt the alternative of war, till they had reason to think that peace was incompatible with independence : they cultivated our alliance, while we suffered them to find a value in our intercourse : but the sentiment so common in private life, they found applicable to national concerns ; when affection has ceased, acquaintance becomes hateful. Thus was the favorable opportunity neglected, when we might have formed an union of interests with France on terms the most honourable to ourselves, by which we might have established and preserved
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the general tranquillity, and arrested the progress of despotic ambition in the North. A project worthy the liberality of Englishmen ! A project frustrated by that mercenary and ambitious spirit, that influences the general conduct of political leaders, and prevents them from acting on those extensive principles of public good, which if adopted would render them the patrons, but when deserted the tyrants of their species.

But the fulfilment of our treaties required, that we should protect Holland from invasion: was this to be effected by no other method, but by making ourselves parties in the quarrel? Are we certain that amicable remonstrance — that impartial arbitration, would not have met with better success, in inducing the Republic to relinquish their views of conquest, than has attended on the operations of the last campaign? But this experiment was not tried: our imperious Allies required our assistance in arms, not in negotiation: they expected us to stifle, not to cherish, the nascent Commonwealth. These treaties indeed, with the solemnity of which the advisers of peace have continually been silenced, seem not altogether suited to the
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genius of Great-Britain. An island, separated from the continent by the decree of nature ; by the peculiarity of its situation, and by the disposition of its inhabitants, marked out for the emporium of commerce ; by its political constitution furnished with some portion of democracy, can derive but little benefit from an intimate connexion with states, linked together in a complicated chain of alliances, deriving their consequence from the pursuit of military achievements, and established on the principles of arbitrary government and the divine right of Kings. But however these engagements are to be lamented, they have been formed ; Parliament has sanctioned them, and the people must, I suppose, acquiesce in the determination of their rulers. I would only suggest to the higher powers, to stop short in time ; and not to abide by these vaunted treaties and conventions to the ruin of this country : I only intimate, that august as they are, they must give way to the care of our domestic interests, and the preservation of internal tranquillity.

To return to the argument founded on the observance of our engagements.—I have
already

already stated, that no attempt was made, to secure the independence of Holland and the Netherlands by negotiation: but I shall go further, and remind my countrymen, that the invasion of these territories was the pretext, not the cause of our hostile preparations. The conquests of the French were astonishing in their rapidity; the days of their prosperity were brilliant, but the period of their adversity had been long: but a few weeks before they over-ran the Netherlands, instead of the besiegers, they were the besieged: the armies of Austria and Prussia were in the heart of France, far advanced on their march to the metropolis: and yet in that important crisis, the aspect of our government was threatening, though its sword was not drawn: the Dutch were in no danger, when the Duke of Brunswick was rioting in the vineyards of Champagne: on the principle which we now find it convenient to profess, that of maintaining the much boasted, but little regarded balance of power, the French, as placed in the lighter scale, were then entitled to our preponderating influence: but our interference on that side of the question would have militated against the system on which we really proceeded.

proceeded. To sum up this part of my subject as briefly as possible, the following is pretty generally known to be the truth: From the moment that the French by the mouth of their representatives constituted themselves a Republic, the measures of this country were determined; their execution was only delayed, till an ostensible reason, more consonant with the equity of the nation than the real, could be devised. The subsequent successes of Dumourier presented a favorable occasion, and the protection of our Allies gave colour to a proceeding, which originated in enmity towards Gallic Republicanism, and in a resolution not to return to the original principles of the British Constitution. Difference of opinion upon the propriety of a war has been said to have existed among the Members of the Cabinet: the Premier has been exonerated from the imputation of sinister motives, and credited for his wishes to perpetuate peace; but such apologies are of little avail: men acting in concert participate the praise of blame attached to the result of their deliberations; and in this case it was sufficiently evident, that the predominant opinion was, that freedom of inquiry was to be silenced by alarm
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at home, and freedom of action was to be destroyed by the point of the bayonet abroad : the dissentients, if such there were, who sacrificed their sentiments to their situations, merited the severest reprobation of every liberal mind. But the views of the Ministerial Party were still further promoted, by the execution of Louis the Sixteenth. The eloquence of Parliamentary Orators was all called forth, to work upon the compassionate feelings of the multitude, and stimulate them to revenge this outrage upon loyalty : the character of that unfortunate man was extolled, the mildness of his disposition, and the severity of his sufferings described in the most pathetic terms ; that nothing might be wanting to reconcile the people to a war, so evidently detrimental to their interests. I am not the person to exult in the misery of a fellow-creature, or to depreciate the generous dispositions of my countrymen : nor am I sufficiently acquainted with the merits of the case, to determine on the propriety of the punishment inflicted : but however atrocious may have been the conduct of the tribunal by which Louis was condemned, I have no difficulty in asserting, that the injurious treatment of an individual
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by a foreign nation, whatever his rank or situation, can afford to us no just occasion for the commencement of hostilities: nor have I much approbation to bestow on that species of humanity, which shudders with horror at the decapitation of a Monarch, while it calmly devotes thousands of the plebeian order to perish by the sword. But is it possible that the good people of England should have been deceived? Treaties are trifles light as air, when incompatible with the present purposes of Statesmen; when necessary to their views, they acquire confirmation, strong as Holy Writ. The Allies, whose interests are at this moment dearer than our own, we have formerly been accustomed to watch with the eagle-eye of jealousy. The King, whose misfortunes we so passionately commiserate, was one of the instruments by which the sceptre of America was wrested from our gripe: nor have Kings or Ministers been celebrated for that disinterested generosity, which can absorb the ranklings of disappointment in the emotions of fraternal piety, when the object of that piety has no remuneration in his power.

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These

These observations lead us to the discovery of the truth; the present is a war against opinions; its object is to fix the colour of theameleon; to shew Mr. Burke that the days of chivalry are not ended; that adventures as romantic as those of La Mancha's Knight are to be pursued, at an expence of blood and treasure, which bids defiance to calculation. The methods by which the nation has been cajoled into consent, have been already pointed out: by exciting prejudices in our minds against the innovations of the French, and apprehensions for our domestic security. But it is fruitless to regret the decisions of the past; it is for us to devise means of extricating ourselves from difficulties, and averting the evil consequences of our situation.

To effect this is the aim of these remarks: the steps by which I am to proceed, seem calculated to lead to conclusions most favorable to our welfare; and to this end, even admitting the rationality of the grounds on which we first engaged in the war, I am simply to compare the resources we can command for its continuance, with the means of opposition possessed by our antagonists;

gonists : and the result of these inquiries must determine, whether the best peace we can obtain, unattended with ignominy, should not be fought, in preference to perseverance in so unprofitable a contest. It has been asserted in these pages, and the truth of the proposition is evident to every man's understanding, that circumstanced as this country has been since the close of the American war, nothing but the extreme necessity of self-defence (to speak politically as well as morally) could justify the renewal of war-like preparations. It is a fundamental principle, which reason and experience have concurred to establish, that a state deeply involved in debt, of which the subjects labour under an accumulation of taxes for the payment of interest, is in a condition ill-fortified against the perils of war ; that it seldom conducts its operations with energy, or supports its hardships with equanimity ; and that prudence would dictate the earliest possible restoration of peace, by which only it can repair the damages, occasioned by former prodigality. This country is in the situation above described : to this country, therefore, peace is the first and most important object. In this place I cannot forbear contributing

tributing the testimony of my approbation to the Letter of Jasper Wilson to Mr. Pitt ; and must recommend to those of my Readers who have not seen it, if there are any such, to lose no time in the perusal of a performance, which will do much towards instructing them in the true interests of Great-Britain, and shaking the blind confidence which they may possibly place in the integrity and abilities of the Minister.

When to the argument deduced from the state of our Finances, we add another equally cogent, which the commercial spirit of the country furnishes in favour of a pacific system, the insanity of voluntarily deviating from that system appears in the most striking colours. When in consequence of the confusion, in which the clashing views of different parties had involved the nations on the continent, the trade of Europe was bordering on a state of stagnation ; this more fortunate island was in a great measure exempt from the calamities experienced by the contending powers, and nearly engrossed those branches of commerce, which survived the violence of the political hurricane. It almost seemed, as if the distraction of our neighbours

bours was destined to be the promotion of our own prosperity : since Europe in general, but France in particular, too intent upon the study of attack and defence, to supply her own necessities by the industry of her own hands, afforded unparalleled encouragement to the exertion of ingenuity in our Manufacturers : and the articles of clothing, and of military weapons at this warlike conjuncture so constantly in request, constituted a plentiful source of employment and subsistence to a very numerous branch of the community. But the benefits arising from our neutrality were of short duration : England had no sooner acceded to the confederacy, than the interruption of trade, which before was partial, became general ; confidence was exchanged for distrust in all mercantile transactions, credit was wounded to an alarming degree, and bankruptcies, of which the extent and magnitude are unparalleled in the annals of the country, demonstrated too feelingly the destructive consequences of the part we had taken.

The unavoidable hardships and distresses of the poor, arising from a variety of causes, is also a circumstance which places no
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trivial impediment in the way of our success. Such was the pressure of burdens before the war, which operated not only in a direct manner, but indirectly, in occasioning the increased prices of all provisions and necessaries; and so little was the advance on the price of labour proportioned to the advance on articles of subsistence, that when there was employment sufficient for the industrious poor in our Manufactories, they still were possessed of but scanty means for the education and maintenance of numerous families: animal food was an indulgence even then confined to particular occasions in the houses of the poor; while thousands of them were debarred from ever experiencing the enjoyment of so salutary a means of nutrition. To those who are desirous of inquiring into the nature of the grievances, under which the poor of England labour, it is with pleasure that I recommend a late publication of Mr. G. Dyer, in which he states a variety of interesting facts, and refers his readers to the most respectable authority; exercising the powers of his mind most diligently in the invention of remedies for the evils, which his humanity leads him deeply to lament. This is a subject
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deserving the most serious consideration ; since the point in which I conceive our powers for the conduct of the war to be principally deficient, even admitting its grounds to be just, is the means of supporting the laborious classes of the community during a season, in which they must necessarily experience the double disadvantages, arising from the failure of employment, and the scarcity of articles necessary to a comfortable subsistence. Severe must be the lot of the lower orders, when the large sums collected by the tax called the Poor's-Rate are insufficient to relieve their necessities : and yet, whether it be owing to mismanagement or other causes, what a comparatively small portion of existing calamity does it reach ! Endless are the supplies of spontaneous charity which are devoured by the mouth of hunger, while the cravings of appetite still remain unsatisfied ! How often has it been said of this great metropolis, that its benevolent institutions are the soul of its existence ! The number of its inhabitants, who become pensioners on the bounty of the public, so far exceeds computation, and the provisions established by the legislature ; that all the exertions of public charity and private benevolence

benevolence are scarcely capable of supplying the deficiency, and dissipating the congregated clouds, which have for some time impended over the political world.

The foregoing observations apply to the condition of the poor before the commencement of the war; during its progress our news-papers have teemed with advertisements, and our streets swarmed with paupers, appealing to the humanity of the public, and imploring relief for the miseries which the madness of the times has occasioned. Never did any preceding year witness such frequent and urgent calls on the wealthy part of the community; a remedy for poverty which can be but temporary and ineffectual: while the manufacturing towns in the country have exhibited scenes of distress, which the humane must feelingly compassionate, though the votaries of ambition and candidates for civil offices may attempt to palliate their severity, or justify their necessity. But if it be true, that such has long been the general state of the great mass, and that new circumstances of discouragement are daily arising, which the occasional assistance of individuals is totally insufficient to obviate ;
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to what do we devote the most numerous and most industrious, consequently the most important branch of the community, when we countenance the continuance of hostilities, by supporting the present persons in power?*

The hope in which many first lent their influence to the measures of Administration, that the business in dispute would soon be settled, is now extinct: no one affects to disbelieve, that the contest will, if not relinquished on our part, be protracted and

* While on the subject of the disproportion between the means and the necessities of the poor, I shall quote a remarkable passage from the pamphlet of M. Mallet du Pan; as it strongly enforces the justice of my argument:

“ L'inegalité toujours croissante des fortunes et les gaspillages d'un luxe immodéré, contraisoient de plus en plus avec les haillons d'une misere laborieuse. Par des tables de proportion que le Comité du Commerce et des colonies a fait dresser en Angleterre, sur les résultats de plusieurs années, il est prouvé que, dans cet isle dont l'ivresse Commerciale et l'opulence tournent tous les cabinets depuis trente ans, la classe immense des gens vivant de leur travail, et leurs familles, s'appauvrissent, chaque jour, par la disproportion des salaires avec les subsistances.” And yet we have the temerity to augment this dangerous disproportion.

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desperate. With this consideration in view, let us look to the alteration which a few months, a single campaign have effected in the prospects of this nation: nor can any stronger testimony be adduced to the importance of peace, than the comparison of our situation in a commercial point of view, at the close of the years 1792 and 1793. In the year 1792, we were at peace at home and abroad; while the continent was agitated with the contentions of Kings and the turbulence of domestic faction. The beneficial consequences to this island were apparent: nine years of tranquillity had inspired our manufacturers with that vigour of industry, and our traders with that spirit of enterprise, which seemed to promise a new æra of prosperity in the annals of the country; when mercantile genius should rise superior to the shackles imposed by the projectors of former wars: the people rejoiced in the hope that they were acquainted with the extent of their burdens, and resolved to meet the exigency of the times with fortitude and activity. When such were the brightning prospects of the nation, it should have been the earnest endeavour of its rulers, to realize the flattering hope: neglect of so fair
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an opportunity would probably be fatal; the event has justified the prophecy. If to the persevering exertions of our merchants we owed the prosperous state of the revenue, and the improving resources of the country; was it not evident that any event which should confine the aberrations of their traffic, or diminish the public confidence in their responsibility, would overthrow the edifice which hope had erected, and poison the fountain from whence we were to derive our future happiness and stability?

I have dwelt sufficiently on the agreeable circumstances of 1792. What a contrast did the following year present! A period of brilliant prosperity was immediately followed by an epoch of unexampled distress and disgrace: the city of London seemed to stand aghast with consternation: where will these misfortunes end? was the general question: in general bankruptcy, was the answer of despondency: commercial houses which had stood the brunt of a century in fame and credit, were unequal to resist this sudden shock: every gazette was occupied with a long, black catalogue of misfortune; and the merchants of the metropolis were besieged

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by commissions of bankruptcy, long before the frontiers of the enemy were assailed by the boasted valour of our armies. Present destruction was accurately proportioned to past prosperity; had the commercial concerns of the nation been in a languid state before the rupture, they might have survived it with comparatively little inconvenience: but the Ministers of the day ought to have known, or to have considered, that commerce, so diffused as ours had lately been, could ill sustain a violent and abrupt restraint; that the manufacturing interest required a large demand, to defray the expences of hazardous speculation: that to check that demand by a political quarrel with their best customers, was almost to sign the death-warrant of the unfortunate adventurers; that their ability to bear up under the pressure of existing burdens depended on industry exerting itself under the auspices of peace: in short, that never was there a period in our history when we were so unprepared for war; when we had so little to gain by it, or so much to fear from it. Our fears were warranted by the reality: so rapid was the progress of ruin, that the interference of Parliament was necessary to stop
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its career: expedients were adopted, which staggered the resolution of the more considerate Ministerialists: for however beneficial may have been their effects, their application was unprecedented; and the necessity, which urged them, discreditable to the responsibility of a commercial nation. The dread of universal ruin has subsided: but what do existing circumstances afford in the way of consolation? The advertisements of the Committee for the relief of the weavers in Spital-Fields, though honorable to the benevolent intentions of their Authors, afford room for serious reflection, in the mind of every thinking man. The industrious poor are said to be the strength, the very vitals of an Empire: upon their contribution principally depends the solvency of the state: a large body of those industrious poor, I speak it from the authority of that Committee, are destitute of employment, and in a situation little short of famine; so far from being able to contribute their mite, that their entire dependence is on the spontaneous bounty of their compassionate fellow-citizens. Here then is one remarkable instance, that as the exigencies of government increase, the ability of the people to furnish those exigencies is deplorably

deplorably diminished. But the columns of our news-papers are occupied with further calls on the charity of the opulent : our Manufacturers in all parts of the country have been driven to the desperate resource, of enlisting as soldiers or sailors ; they have left their wives and children, by this time perhaps their widows and orphans, unprotected and destitute : hence the establishment of funds for the support of these victims to the mysterious machinations of state policy. So wide indeed have the calamities attendant on war already spread, that multitudes of Mechanics have been obliged to exchange the independence of industry for the niggardly pittance of a parish, or the precarious liberality of private donations. When we reflect on the comparative circumstances of two consecutive years, what are we to expect from the protraction of hostilities with which we are threatened ?

The alarming evils already described have been but the natural consequences of war in its commencement : they have originated simply in the circumstance of our having exchanged one condition, that of peace, for another : they have taken place before the
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nation has been required to exert itself for the support of the new measures; before a single tax for the services of the year has been imposed, merely from anticipation of future unavoidable embarrassments: if such be the outset of the business, can we hope that our situation will be bettered, when the new burdens, which the expences of a war establishment render indispensable, shall fall on the shoulders of the people? We have been told from high authority, that the necessity of additional burdens is the subject of lamentation to a certain distinguished personage: the grief of that patriotic bosom is not however totally comfortless: a principal source of its consolation is, "the complete success of the measure which was last year adopted, for removing the embarrassments affecting commercial credit."* Consolation is the forerunner of hope and confidence: and the Representatives of the nation are advised to provide for the exigencies of the State "in such a manner, as to avoid any pressure which may be severely felt by the people."

* Vide the opening of the present Session, 1794.

I fear that the united ingenuity of the whole Legislative Body will scarcely discover the means of complying with the foregoing requisition: I see more occasion to lament the necessity of providing for commercial difficulties, than to boast of the success attending the provision. The progress of bankruptcies may have been arrested, but the vigor of trade and manufactures has not been renewed: the patient has been rescued from instantaneous dissolution, but the power of Medicine has been proved insufficient to restore his shattered frame to convalescence. In such a state of the political constitution, can it be supposed that fresh impositions will not produce fresh difficulties? Can it be possible, that almost a million of new taxes should be supported with little inconvenience by a people, already severely pressed by the weight of former taxation? But much praise has been bestowed on the method by which the Minister has provided the supplies of the year: the new objects of taxation are said to be such, as will affect that class of the community who are best capable of augmenting their contributions. There is in my opinion much to be said against the tax on paper, and on Attornies: but as I rest my argument on
different

different grounds, I will wave the discussion of this subject; and admit with the friends of Mr. Pitt, that he has in this respect done the best which the circumstances of the times would allow: but having admitted the propriety of the new taxes, I do not accede to the proposition, "that the additional pressure will not be severely felt by the people."

The temporary taxes for the Spanish Armament are continued; and by this manœuvre the Minister hoped to overcome his difficulties; and escape the odium which must have attached itself to him and his Party, had they been obliged to devise new expedients for raising the whole sum required. But his reasonings on that subject were fallacious: that the transition from peace to war must be accompanied with an increase of expenditure, is an axiom beyond the reach of controversy: that the mass of individuals must ultimately make good that increase of expenditure, is equally incontrovertible: consequently in whatever way the business may be managed, as the produce of former imposts is pretty accurately appropriated, the reality of the case must be, that after all their tricks and devices, the severity of the pressure on the shoulders of the

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people is exactly proportioned to the amount of the levies demanded. But the scheme of continuing expiring taxes, instead of imposing new, was intended to delude the nation with an opinion of our resources : it was contended that the circumstance of the temporary taxes having been endured for four years, was a proof that it was within the compass of our strength to endure them still longer : and thus were we easily relieved from a considerable part of the difficulty attending the supplies of the present year. This was the substance of Mr. Pitt's argument on opening the Budget: need its gross fallacy be exposed ? Not all the palliating, not all the imposing eloquence of the Minister can prevent the people from feeling a severe disappointment ; that burdens, the severity of which was alleviated at the time by the consideration of their transitory nature, and application to a particular purpose, and by express covenant to no other, are entailed on them and their posterity : that the relief, which was solemnly promised to the sufferers at an appointed, not far distant period, is now postponed *ad infinitum*.

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In the permanent establishment of these temporary taxes, a formal compact between the Government and the Nation has been infringed ; a proceeding not to be warranted by the pursuit of ambitious projects, and phantoms of state policy. With such causes of complaint in the interruption of trade, the advancing price of necessaries, the addition and prolongation of heavy taxes, principally to be defrayed by the middle and lower classes, I do not see that we can reckon on the possession of resources, to support the lengthened duration of hostilities. In the last session of Parliament, it was frequently urged as a palliation of the dreary prospect on which we had entered, that from the magnitude of the combination the dispute must speedily be terminated. This seemed at the time to be the argument of convenience, rather than of conviction : there appeared a probability even then that the contest would be protracted ; and that probability is now almost converted into certainty, unless the Allies would consent to moderate the peremptoriness of their demands. And allowing, in compliment to the sanguine disposition of Ministerial partizans, that no serious consequences will be felt
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from the expences already incurred, where will be the provision for the exigencies of futurity? Twelve months have already elapsed, during which we have been in arms: immense sums have been expended; and the object of pursuit, the establishment of what is called a regular government in France, is further from our reach than at the outset: the unavoidable expences of military operations have been augmented by losses and disappointments, inseparable from a state of warfare: our advantages as members of the confederacy, certainly have not over-balanced our disasters: events of late have been peculiarly infelicitous: to what do we look forward? The next campaign may not enrich our records with more brilliant trophies than the last: the victories we anticipate may assimilate themselves too nearly to the defeats we have sustained: but amidst all the changes and chances, attendant on the prosecution of war, the only thing certain is expence: that is equally the consequence of success and disappointment; and should the advantages of future campaigns prove inadequate to their cost and hazard, who can presume on the compliance of the public disposition, or expect the nation to

divest themselves piecemeal of every indulgence, for the support of obstinacy or the gratification of ambition? That our resources will enable us to persist but a short time, there is no danger in affirming; that our opponents are as nearly exhausted as ourselves, we are by no means certain; and yet we determine to prolong the contest to the utmost, and adhere to the determinations we adopted in the commencement; thus reducing ourselves to the alternative of absolutely conquering our adversaries, or ignominiously retracting our assertion, that we would on no terms be induced to treat with the present rulers, of France.

Let us now turn our attention to the military force of the Kingdom; in speaking of which, it would be unpardonable not to notice a subject of rejoicing, which the friends of Administration have had the ingenuity to discover. The number of recruits for the service of the Army the last year has exceeded the number raised in any former year by ten thousand; and this they say is a ground of exaltation, and betokens the fertility of our military resources, and the probability of our success. That it is a very considerable

considerable augmentation of our army, I allow: but that we have any reason to be overjoyed at such augmentation, I cannot agree, when I reflect on the causes in which that augmentation has originated. I suppose their idea is of this kind: that while the Army is supplied with recruits from the manufacturing towns, the towns, unable to support the usual number of hands in consequence of the general stagnation, transfer their supernumeraries to a new employment: and thus reciprocal benefits are exchanged. In truth, our ranks have been pretty copiously replenished from the famished band of artificers: at first they must have suffered from inexperience in the exercise of their new occupation; and I fear they must have found it a service of somewhat more danger than that to which they were accustomed: cutting throats may be a gentleman-like pursuit, but is ill adapted to the temper of men, who are in the habit of cultivating the vulgar arts of peace; and fatally have thousands experienced, that they have only exchanged the lingerings of want, for the more speedy destruction awaiting them in the battle. Nor is there any danger at present, that those who prefer the
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chance of a cannon-ball to the apprehension of famine, will not be indulged in their election; fresh food for powder is continually required; and Weavers will "fill a pit as well as better men."

But to return from Falstaff's way of thinking to my own, I cannot see our Manufacturers and Artisans, our men of industry and ingenuity, who once were thought to constitute the strength and glory of the country, seeking refuge from idleness and want by carrying a musquet, without entertaining strong fears that the best days of old England are passed; that its senses are sinking into dotage, that the principles of decay are undermining its constitution, and preying on its very vitals. But however easy commercial adversity may render it for a time, to replace the losses sustained in our engagements, it is certain that we are a people not naturally military; a circumstance which renders it very doubtful, whether we can long rival our antagonists in prodigality of human life. The devotion of the French to the cause in which they are engaged, has urged them to exertions unparalleled in the annals of mankind; but
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our common soldiers have no such lively interest in the event of the contest: they can have but an imperfect idea of the grounds on which they are acting; of the object for which they are contending. They are told indeed that they are fighting for their King and Country; and attachment to his Royal Master is supposed to be a necessary ingredient in the composition of a Soldier: but it may be difficult for wiser heads than his to comprehend, in what respect the true interests of either the King or the Country can be promoted, by forcing a particular form of government on a people, to whom that form is odious, and who are determined to resist to the utmost this conspiracy against their independence. The zeal of these plain, unenlightened men will be but languid in a cause, enveloped in a cloud of mystery; a cause in which they are not personally concerned; in which valour is exerted, and death braved, not for the protection of their families and friends, but for a slender diurnal pittance, hardly sufficient for their own support: in which the sacrifice of their lives, instead of forming a bulwark round their fellow-citizens, deprives childhood of parental solicitude, and tears from

from the hand of dependent helplessness the staff on which it rested, without affording a single circumstance of consolation as an equivalent for the loss.

Interested writers and speakers have endeavoured to prove, from the alacrity with which men have enlisted, the cordiality of their attachment to the cause. But a more natural reason for this alacrity has been assigned; the want of employment at home; to which may be added, the unusual liberality of the bounties which have been offered.* There is however sufficient reason to believe, that the ardour of young heroes is already damped by the severity, with which their countrymen have been handled on the Continent; and that the representations of the wounded, who have been sent home, will deter the sons of peace from so dangerous a pursuit as that of honour, till compelled by the calls of

* An instance is known, in one regiment, where twenty guineas, a silver watch, and half a crown have been given for each man; which, after the payment of crimps, &c. will bring the total expence to twenty-five guineas per man.

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hunger. Are these resources too in danger of failing? If so, where will be the laurels, with which paternal partiality is so eager to encircle the brows of an elevated personage? The military history of Great-Britain will receive but little additional lustre, when the transactions of the last year shall have been added to its page: the glories and splendid successes, which have been announced by Ministers in Parliament, are of too refined and transcendent a nature, to be discerned by the dull optics of common observers: the light in which past events have generally been viewed is unfavourable; and reasoning of the future from the past, we have no cause for exultation in the prospect of the ensuing campaign. But we depend with confidence on our Allies; in their multitudinous armies the paucity of our numbers will be sheltered; while their vigorous exertions and unrelenting discipline will ensure a due proportion in the honours of victory to every member of the confederacy.

By such delusive hopes do we seek to qualify the acerbity of disappointment; but on what foundation do we build this dependence

pendence on our Allies? I fear their difficulties are greater than our own: fame is more treacherous than usual, if the coffers of the Continental powers are not drained to the very dregs; have we not reason to believe that the Emperor is recurring to the most desperate expedients, to support the growing expences of the war? What reliance can we place on the ability of the Prussian Monarch to co-operate with us, when he has declared his intention only to furnish his contingent, unless the disbursements of his immense army shall be defrayed by those, who he is now pleased to say are more interested in the event than himself? What opinion can we form of his integrity, when we have experienced his conduct from the beginning to be made up of intrigue and dissimulation, when he has been willing to fulfil his own engagements, so far only as they have been conducive to private purposes of interest and ambition; when his demands have been uniformly exorbitant, and his services frequently fallen far short of reasonable expectation?—Such are the parties with whom we have pledged ourselves to act in concert; on whom we trust for the execution of important conditions. To complete the catalogue of our
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expensive follies, and augment the unavoidable burdens of a war, we have assented to a modest request; that of subsidizing our Allies, for the defence of their own territory, and the preservation of their own interests. So great is the importance of the contest in which we are engaged, so liberal the spirit with which we disdain the suggestions of prudence and œconomy! In short, when we consider the disadvantage, under which we entered upon a system of hostilities; the events, civil and military, which have occurred during its progress; the present circumstances of ourselves and our Allies, and the distance at which we are placed from the scene of action, a circumstance favorable in some points of view, but disadvantageous in others; we can hardly flatter ourselves that futurity has any compensation in store for us, adequate to our hazard; or that our desperate exertions will end in the attainment of our object, indemnification for the past and security for the future.

C H A P. II.

ON THE SITUATION AND RESOURCES OF
FRANCE.

THE next object to which it will be necessary for us to turn our attention, is the character and circumstances of our opponents, and the obstacles which their exertions may give us reason to expect.

The French nation have for centuries attracted the notice and admiration of Europe ; they are known to be a brave, ardent, and generous people ; fond to enthusiasm of military pursuits ; jealous of honour, and impatient of control. They have suffered for ages under the oppression of arbitrary government : the Monarch exercising uncontrolled authority over the highest and proudest of his Nobles ; and they in their turn insulting the Bourgeois, and trampling on their vassals. But this system, infamous as it was, could never entirely eradicate those sentiments of honour and generosity which seem
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to have been most bountifully imparted to this extraordinary people. There has ever been remarked among the French nobility, though equally obsequious to their Sovereign, and tenacious of their own privileges, a sensibility and rationality in their pride, a dignity and a courtesy even in their insolence, which is not commonly discoverable in the frequenters of a Court : while those in a lower sphere of life, though degraded by servitude, and abjectly devoted to the caprices of their superiors, were nevertheless distinguished by a pleasing levity of manners, and an amiable kindness and hospitality to strangers, which rendered their metropolis the favorite resort of European travellers, and contributed to veil the defects of their moral and political character.

But though their conduct under the former system was marked with these inconsistencies, the new character, which they have lately assumed as Republicans, seems not to be sufficiently understood. To account for the seeming incongruity of this change, will be a necessary preliminary to the discussion of my subject.

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It has frequently been mentioned as matter of surprise, that the sentiments and dispositions of so populous a community should have undergone a complete metamorphosis in so short a space of time: that the strain of panegyric, which resounded with the praises of the Monarch and the blessings of his reign, should have instantaneously modulated into songs of popular triumph, and epithalamiums of liberty: nay more, that the overwhelming enthusiasm of the Parisian populace should have spread immediate contagion through so extensive a territory; and that the inhabitants of Provinces, remote from each other and from the Capital, should with one heart and one voice have assented to an order of things, all the possible effects of which were not as yet to be calculated or foreseen. But though the French Revolution be astonishing in its origin and progress; it is not so much to be admired for the suddenness of its introduction, as those who are unacquainted with the previous state of that country may suppose. Literature and philosophy had for years been gradually extending their influence over France: the writings of the most eminent advocates in the cause of liberty, both ancient and modern,

dern, Greek, Roman, and English, were familiar to men of rank and education; and that the unlettered multitude might not be debarred from those celestial irradiations, which illuminated the minds of their superiors, their writers transplanted the Republican spirit of past ages into their own works, and blended the dignified sentiments of the ancient Grecians, with the wit and vivacity of modern Frenchmen.

And here I cannot but admire the providential impolicy of the old Monarchy, which deviated from the principle of similar establishments; which aimed at uniting the permanence of Despotism with the advancement of knowledge. We know that under the other arbitrary governments of the world, the acquisition of learning is far from being encouraged; unless it be of that abstruse and merely theoretical kind, of which there is no danger that the multitude should be enamoured: nay, rational ideas of religion among the people are so far deprecated in Catholic countries, that the service of the church is ordained to be performed in a language unintelligible to the mass of worshippers. But an affectation of refinement
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and genius led many of the Kings and great men in France, to become the patrons of science: nor did royal penetration perceive the danger, that a spirit of freedom, that lurking serpent, might lie concealed and cherished under the flowers of adulation.

Louis the XIVth, that extraneous compound of imbecility and celebrity, was most remarkably the dupe of his own vanity: the work of undermining despotism was begun in his reign; towards which he was led unintentionally to contribute. This Monarch, not content with the parasitical homage of Courtiers and Sycophants, determined to extend his fame beyond the narrow precincts of Versailles, by engaging the pen of genius and learning in his service; and to transmit the memory of his reign to posterity, as the æra of an Augustan age.—Infatuated with this passion for literary honours, he collected round his throne the most celebrated of Poets and Philosophers; countenanced the labours of the famed French Academy with his protection, and in the pursuit of personal glory, shook to its foundation the authority of his successors, by contributing to dissipate the cloud of ignorance,

in which that authority was seated. But this conduct proceeded, not from greatness of design, but ignorance of the consequences: the elegant phraseology, in which they clothed their compliments, was grateful to the ear of royalty; the terms in which they magnified the uninterrupted victories, the political sagacity, or the literary attainments of the Grand Monarque, were not the less acceptable for being unfounded in reality: nor can we tell which most to admire, when we look into the Dedications, or the Academic Discourses of the Day, in the Prince the credulous avidity, or in the Authors the unblushing prodigality, of adulation. Satiated with the extravagance of dedicatory compliment, he passed unnoticed those scintillations of liberal sentiment, dispersed through the publications of the age, which occasionally sparkle through the cloud of servility, and betray the genuine feelings of the enlightened mind. There is one trait in the character of the times, which will be acknowledged by those who are versed in the productions of the great tragic poets, Corneille and Racine: at a period when both the theory of divine right, and the practice of the arbitrary system appeared to be in the zenith of their glory
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in France, the theatrical pieces of these authors, represented with the suffrage of universal approbation before popular audiences, those particularly whose subject was taken from ancient history or fable, were not unfrequently distinguished by passages of a democratic tendency, which would scarcely pass the ordeal of the present Chamberlain's criticism, in this more favoured age and country.

These little incidental fallies made an imperceptible, but permanent impression on the public mind: confidence was gradually emboldened by impunity, and the advances of free inquiry were shrouded under the covering of allegiance and attachment, till the political Argus was completely hoodwinked; the discipline of despotism carelessly relaxed, and the strong holds of tyranny at last attacked and carried by the assault of popular enthusiasm. To this conclusion Voltaire and Rousseau, improving on the imperfect pattern of their predecessors, did not a little contribute: their attempts, more bold and methodical, though still under the guidance of caution, and often under the disguise of allegory, were more effectual: till by degrees the force of argument and the poignancy of

fatire produced that secret revolution in men's minds, which in due time openly burst forth in their actions. But among the writers who have contributed towards this important change, I must direct the particular attention of the Reader to Montesquieu;* a man whose literary and philosophical attainments procured him the reverence of Europe; whose patriotism, employing the powers of his mind to that noblest of purposes, the public good, excited the gratitude by promoting the rational improvement of his countrymen. To him it was reserved to impress upon the minds of Frenchmen that sacred truth, that every part of the state ought to be equally subject to the laws; to instruct them in that principle of nature and of equity, which obliges every citizen equally to contribute his proportion, towards the happiness of the whole, in short, to digest the principles of liberty and law into a regular system.

* The prophetic opinion of a cotemporary is remarkable; it is expressed in a note on one of Montesquieu's letters to M. Solar. "Lorsque M. de Solar en lu la premiere fois *l'Esprit des Loix*, il dit, voila une livre qui operera une révolution dans les esprits en France."—Duodec. Edit. vol. vii. Note on Montesquieu's Letter to Solar.

Such was the progress of an event, so eminently distinguished among the memorabilia of history : an event which affords an awful warning to the potentates of the earth, not to attempt the unnatural union of slavery and civilization ; not to indulge the impracticable hope, of being recorded in history as the benefactors, while they are in person the oppressors of mankind. In the interval between, if I may be allowed to adopt such a distinction, the mental and the actual revolution, when the inclination was ripened, but the opportunity wanting ; though all was tranquil in appearance, and the usual course of things continued, discerning spectators could distinguish the subterranean storm, the eruption of which was to overthrow with its violence the deep-laid foundation of the monarchical establishment. The same undistinguishing attachment to the person of the Monarch, the same veneration for the ceremonies of the Church, which characterized past generations of Frenchmen, was professed during the reign of Louis XVI. in public assemblies and promiscuous company : but during the latter years of his sovereignty, his subjects became licentious in the extreme in their animadversions on his character, where the familiar intercourse of private society removed

moved the shackles of restraint: there the gluttony of the King and the gallantries of his Confort were the unexhausted topics of contemptuous ridicule: there the notorious vices of the Priesthood were humorously contrasted with the solemnity of their function; till the substance had nearly been confounded with the shadow of religion: there the penury of the Finances and the prodigality of the Court were canvassed and satirized with more than Republican feverity. In this disordered state was France for some time previous to the Revolution: the face and figure remained fair and graceful to the eye; but disease and corruption preyed upon its vitals. At length the critical period either of dissolution or renovation arrived: the shock was sustained with unexpected fortitude and composure, and the new regimen, to which the body politic was subjected, seemed likely to restore vigour to the state, and assist the operation of Reform.

This event has been compared by many speculatists to a Meteor darting through the sky; filling the beholders with astonishment and fear at its momentary appearance, and illuminating the horizon with preternatural, but temporary radiance: and in conformity with
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this idea, they are waiting for its equally precipitate evanescence, when the twilight of evening shall resume its sober reign among the habitations of men. But were I to hazard a conjecture concerning futurity, I should liken it to the dawn of the morning, which announces the approach of the rising sun ; that luminary, which sheds a clear, a steady, and a beneficial radiance over the works of nature ; which often is obscured by temporary clouds, and counteracted in its benign influence by the violence of passing tempests : which in its progress towards its meridian, can be impeded by no power in the universe, but will pass in regular succession through all the gradations of its glory, till it arrives at the limit of its course, and sinks, with all the objects on which its rays have been reflected, into the darkness of primeval night. Such will probably be found to be the progression of rational improvement and universal liberty, as yet in the imperfect and defenceless state of infancy : but which, notwithstanding all the disasters which it has encountered, and is still liable to sustain, will gain strength with maturity, and correctness with experience ; will obtain a firm establishment in all the political systems of mankind, and though delayed in its advances to supremacy,

premacý, will retain and augment its influence and authority, as long as the world shall endure.

By these extended views were many of the first movers of the Revolution animated : but they were found unequal to the performance of what they had judiciously planned ; so that when the first excesses of joy for the demolition of the King's Fortress (as Mr. Burke has delicately called the Bastille) and for the emancipation of the country, had subsided ; and the work of forming a Constitution, more difficult than that of overthrowing Despotism, was to be commenced ; the prospect of happiness was overshadowed by the approach of tempests : it was then discovered by the intrigues and party-animosities of the National Assembly, and the influence of the corruption, which royalty found means to exercise, even in the state of impotency to which it was reduced ; that permanent order and tranquillity, the end to which the insurrection was directed, was further from attainment, than the vivacity of hope would at first permit the people to believe.

It would be needless to detail circumstances already well known : for which reason I shall
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pass over the frequent dissensions which the interest and ambition of political leaders occasioned; the struggles between the remnant of the Court-Party, and the candidates for popular favour; and the jealousy which the incongruities of the new Constitution generated between the Legislative and Executive Government: evils which led to continual tumults and disturbances, during the four years of limited monarchy. I have before mentioned the cordial disposition of the French towards this country, as it appeared in 1791, which made a temporary residence among that hospitable people not more interesting to the curiosity, than gratifying to the national prejudices of Englishmen. I can further affirm from observation, that Republican principles, even at so late a period of the Revolution, and when the King's recent flight to Varennes had justly rendered him suspected, were neither general nor popular among the citizens: and that a man who at a much frequented table d'hôte at Orleans was one day arguing in favour of a change in the form of government, appeared to me to be received by the company with almost as much contempt and aversion, as the abettor of a similar scheme would at this time excite in a Ministerial club in England.

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This, together with the determined refusal of such a proposition in the National Assembly, which, in the midst of the indignation excited by the Royal treachery, was propounded but by a few individuals, and abandoned by general consent; proves that the adoption of Republicanism was not the result of a settled plan from the commencement of the Revolution, but grew out of the circumstances of the times, and the inveterate opposition of principle, which was continually widening the breach between the Court and the people. The demonstrations of joy and the proofs of unanimity, which succeeded the King's acceptance of the Constitution, flattered the hopes of peaceful citizens: but the purposes to which the prerogative was imprudently applied, and the clandestine intelligence between Louis and his foreign connections, with the impertinent interference of neighbouring powers in matters of domestic concern, threw the kingdom into a state of convulsion, which foreboded the utmost horrors of civil contention. At length, the multiplied instances of treachery on the part of the Royal Family and their partizans, the unwarranted menaces and the hostile movements of the Emperor; the desire of the citizens to reap the harvest of their toils, by
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establishing a government over which they should have a real, as well as nominal influence, paved the way for a second Revolution, more powerful in its effects, and more important in its consequences than the first.*

Having cursorily reviewed the transactions of the Revolution, it will be proper to notice the change which has been produced in the national character. The review which has been taken of their manners and dispositions antecedent to these great events, has demonstrated the possession of inherent virtue, clouded and obscured by the vices of government: the luxury of a Court had engendered habits of frivolity; the morals of a Court had encouraged inconstancy and insincerity: the preposterous inequalities of condition had overwhelmed the sense of natural independence, and habituated the mind to the exactions of usurped superiority. But in the course of the late struggles, difficulties and hardships have restored the enfeebled energies

* The meetings of the noted Austrian Committee at Paris during the summer of 1792, till the tenth of August changed the face of things, were as regular and as well known to the public as the meeting of the Cabinet-Council at St. James's.

of the people; the circumstances of the times have enforced the necessity of hardihood and frugality, and the abolition of that foe to great undertakings, luxury: the bravery, the sentiments of honour, the impatience of insult which formerly distinguished them, are still cherished; while the characteristic levity, which counteracted the efficacy of these qualities, is converted by the spirit of liberty into indefatigable perseverance and unshaken constancy. These essential alterations of character, though extraordinary, are not unaccountable: favorable opportunities and perilous contingencies have alternately conspired to mature the latent seeds of magnanimity; if prosperity be the completion of the harvest, adversity will have been the instrument of cultivation.

The precipitation with which particular measures have been carried, and the sanguinary catastrophes, too frequently disgraceful to the cause in which France is engaged, have excited deep regret in the bosoms of rational advocates for the rights of humanity, and vociferous reproaches from the mouths of pensioners on the corruptions of government. The excesses, of which the champions for liberty have been guilty, have unblushingly been adduced as justifications

justifications of arbitrary encroachments: from the misfortunes which have befallen an infant republic, it has been argued that freedom is dangerous under every form, and that the eternal torments of inveterate despotism may be better endured, than the temporary purgatory of a revolution. But these outrageous disputants should recollect, that candour invites us to view the fair side of every character; and without engaging in the impious attempt of vindicating cruelties, which from my soul I abhor and lament, I must assert that the general conduct of the French during the present contest has not assimilated itself to particular instances of barbarity: but paying due respect to all reasonable objections against them, I shall conclude my delineation of their present features by portraying a remarkable trait: that they seem determined to adhere to the strictest forms of their new government in the organization of their political and moral system; that they are erecting the superstructure of their commonwealth on the venerable foundations of Greece and Rome; and that in the republican austerity of their principles and practice, they approve themselves the emulous imitators of the examples afforded by antiquity.

And are these pages to contain nothing but a bare-faced panegyric on our enemies? Would it not be the part of patriotism rather to encourage the zeal of our countrymen by favorable representations, than to damp their ardour in the pursuit of conquest, by prognostications of success to their opponents? I cannot acquiesce in the justice of such an objection. I know that it has been the policy of Ministerial partizans, to flatter the hopes of the country, by representing the distress and despondency of the French as equal to their profligacy and enormities; to counteract the dangerous tendency of such bombast, invented upon no shadow of foundation, is worthy the endeavour of an advocate for peace: and I cannot help thinking, that a man, who represents the possible and probable consequence of intemperate proceedings with a caution perhaps too earnest for the occasion, deserves better of the society to which he belongs, than another; who incites his fellow-citizens to exertions, the failure of which is destruction, for the precarious attainment of visionary benefits, originating and perhaps ending in the reveries of imagination. To acknowledge virtue, where it exists in an adversary, is the part of liberality: to scrutinize the consequences of our own actions with

with severity, is the part of prudence and fortitude: no prejudice to our cause can result from the one; no disaffection to our country can be argued from the other. With these sentiments ever present to my mind, I shall endeavour to draw practical conclusions from the recital I have made, and from other facts which I may be led to adduce: to shew the benefit we may derive to our own interest, from a just apprehension of the enemy's character and circumstances; the only valuable end to which Essays of this kind can be directed.

And now, when the whole tenor of the Revolution is pressed on our recollection, what credit can we give to the assurances of those, who represent the French as on the point of capitulation? With what grace can we unite in sentiment with men, who last year inspirited us with the fruitless hope of conquering, and this year console us with the charitable project of starving, twenty-five millions of human beings? But are we to allow nothing for the resistance, which these twenty-five millions of human beings will make against the subversion of all, which they have been labouring to establish? Are we to suppose that what has cost so much time, so much exertion, so many lives, will

will be relinquished in little time, with little exertion, at the expence of but few lives? Will the people of France consent, not to gather the fruits of what they have reared and brought to maturity? Can it be imagined that having first overthrown the established order of things, they will assist in the re-establishment of that order? Possessions, which are laboriously acquired, are wont to be anxiously preserved; difficulty in attainment is seldom followed by facility in renunciation. Where then is the prospect of termination to this contest? If we, with little apparent interest in the issue, feel bold enough to proceed in so doubtful a career, will our adversaries, who are fighting *pro aris et focis*, not rival us in perseverance? Let us calculate the opposition we may expect from the resistance we have experienced. The most prominent feature in the Republican character as exhibited in France, has been observed to be prodigality of life. Now this is a quality, which above all others renders an individual formidable; when extended to a whole army or nation, it almost makes them invulnerable and irresistible. Indeed they virtually become so; for as no inferior considerations bias their actions, it is only by extermination that victory can be obtained,

obtained, when each individual prizes liberty above life. When only a few, when only thousands cherish this sentiment, it is possible to destroy the phalanx, and impose the yoke of subjection on an ignoble multitude: but when this spirit becomes universal amongst millions; when not to feel it is infamy, when not to act from it is treason, the most decided votaries of the confederate powers must feel the impracticability of destroying such a hydra.*

When we read the Conventional details of individual bravery, we feel animated and interested: the heroism of ancient times appears

* Mr. Mallet du Pan seems strongly impressed with this sentiment, as the following, among many passages in his "Considerations," will sufficiently shew.

"Ce serait donc une méprise funeste de considérer le différend actuel, comme une guerre ordinaire de Puissance à Puissance, de compter exclusivement sur l'efficacité de la meilleure armée, d'opposer de vieilles règles à des conjonctures inouïes, de combattre, par des mesures de routine, des hommes qui ont passés tous les procédés connus, et de s'enfermer, pour y périr, dans un cercle de moyens dont une épreuve, dangereuse à prolonger, a déjà manifesté l'insuffisance."

revived among the moderns; the ideal exploits of the fabulous ages are verified in real life. When we turn our attention to the achievements of their armies, we feel more forcibly the influence of sentiment on action: at times we find them confounded by the superior discipline of their adversaries; we read of thousands slain in a single battle; of engagements which in common wars would have been deemed decisive: but of what avail is this? The routed forces rally; tens of thousands present themselves to occupy the vacancy of thousands; the survivors emulate the valour, and court the fortune of the dead, and life is only valued as it leads to victory. Those who have examined the details of the two last campaigns, even as given in our own Gazettes, will be sensible that this picture is not too highly coloured: the conquests which the French have gained (to do justice to the military character of the Combined Armies) have not been easy: their success has not been derived from the impetuosity of an onset; they have waded to victory through the blood of their fellow-soldiers.

But a stronger indication of the obstinacy with which the struggle may be continued, is
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the silent magnanimity with which they encounter disasters, and the tried fidelity with which they have resisted temptation. To suffer the miseries of life with patience, has been accounted more heroic, than to die with fortitude: and this species of heroism has been wonderfully exemplified by the French. Adversity is more favorable to the human character than prosperity: a remark just in the general, and particularly applicable to the French. The unshaken stoicism, with which garrisons have at once witnessed the conflagration of their towns and the demolition of their works; with which they have sustained the pressure of famine, is too well attested to need detail—the British soldiery have borne honorable testimony to the defence of Valenciennes; and the patriotic desperation of the inhabitants of Landau, when exhausted of the ordinary means of sustenance within, when assailed by the incessant operations of the enemy from without, when enticed by the flattering offer of salvation and recompence on their surrender, will be honoured and approved by the universal suffrage of unprejudiced posterity. I have often been much struck by the description of the French Protestants besieged in Rochelle by the French King.

King, as given by Mrs. Macaulay in her History of England. The circumstances of this siege bear so strong a resemblance to those attending the late siege of Landau; the magnanimity exhibited on the two occasions is so similar, and the observation of the historian so well deserving to be noticed, that I shall transcribe the passage :

“ Of twenty-two thousand persons who had been shut up in the town, four thousand alone survived the hardships that they had undergone. The living not being in number sufficient, or in a condition to bury the dead, vermin and birds of prey fed on the exposed carcases. The dying carried their own coffins into the church-yards, and there lay down and breathed their last. Rats, dogs, cats, mice, human flesh, and other distasteful food, had been the only provision on which these martyrs to the cause of Religion and Liberty had for some time fed. The few inhabitants that survived these miseries appeared like the skeletons of men. The story of their sufferings shews the mighty influence that virtue has over a people actuated by a just sense of Freedom, that it not only over-balances every motive of self-preservation, subdues those frailties that
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are inseparable from humanity, but raises the mind above the sense of evils that are the most insupportable to the nature of man."

The attachment of the French soldiery to their country and Revolution, appears in a striking point of view on the defalcation of Dumourier. What were the expectations, what the disappointment of Europe on that occasion! When the news of that event arrived, it was immediately concluded, that from the General's popularity the troops would catch the contagion, remain attached to his Standard, and unite with him to crush that liberty, they had so nobly laboured to assert. Those conjectures were even magnified into certainty: and a rumor for some time prevailed, that these converts to Aristocracy were marching to Paris in a body. Dumourier indeed evidently reckoned on his influence over the minds of the Soldiers; and flattered himself that his talents of persuasion could unsettle their attachment to the Republic. But as surrounding nations were astonished, so may they be instructed by the behaviour of this patriotic army; with exceptions too inconsiderable to mention, they manifested their zeal for the service of their country to be founded on principle,

principle, and uninfluenced by the vicissitudes of fortune. Though in circumstances of peril the most imminent, in which the military talents of their Commander could ill be spared, in which their own preservation seemed to depend on their adherence to him, they refused with generous indignation the treachery proposed, and awaited the decision of their destiny in the conscientious performance of their duty. The dispassionate steadiness displayed on this occasion is rarely observable in the conduct of large bodies : the feelings either of approbation or displeasure are usually contagious and violent ; the desertion of a leader is calculated to excite a spirit of revenge among the objects of his treachery. But in this instance the sentiment of fidelity to their obligations appeared admirably blended with affection towards the partner of their labours ; they continued at their posts, but suffered the degraded chief to depart ; they refrained from upbraiding his versatility, but witnessed with silent regret this unaccountable renunciation of fame, so anxiously sought and so deservedly acquired.

The conduct of the National Convention, whether on occasions of success or disappointment,

ment, cannot with propriety be overlooked: in the moment of victory, the solemnity with which they institute civic festivals, the enthusiasm with which they congratulate the authors of their triumph, and the vivacity with which they participate in the rejoicings of the populace, have a wonderful tendency to feed the flame of patriotism among the citizens, and to inspire them with confidence at once in the paternal care, and brotherly affection of their Representatives. The addresses which are from time to time circulated through the Departments and the Armies, are admirably adapted to disseminate the Revolutionary principles, and inspire a meritorious intemperance of courage amongst the Soldiers. The address to the Army before Toulon* produced an almost instantaneous effect, in the alacrity with which the recapture of the place was accomplished. The penman of that composition

* This animated address runs thus :

"Inhabitants of the Southern countries, you, into whose souls a fiery atmosphere has infused generous passions, and the burning enthusiasm that creates grand success," &c. &c.

For the composition at full length, I refer my readers to the "Political State of Europe," vol. v. page 443.

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exhibited no inconsiderable knowledge of human nature; one of the strongest passions in the breast of man is that of rivalry: this operates among individuals, but more strongly among nations; nor does it always originate in clashing interests or discordant principles; it is often merely local, and exists between the opposite extremities of the same community. The address in question accommodates this local prejudice to the advantage of the public; after having enumerated and extolled the victories of the Northern Armies, in a strain of animation which must warm every reader, it exhorts the men of the South not to be outdone by the inhabitants of a less favoured region: to shew themselves invigorated by the geniality of their climate, and as they carry off the prize from their brethren in the bounties of nature, to excel them in the ardor of enterprize. By such suggestions was popular enthusiasm wound to its highest pitch; and the British Minister was precluded from boasting to Parliament of an event, which had been magnified by the hireling publications of the day as the most brilliant of the campaign.

To pass to the behaviour of the Convention under adverse circumstances: though
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philosophic calmness among them is not so surprising, as in the promiscuous assemblage of an Army, it is equally beneficial in its effects. Deservedly as the excesses, to which party animosity has given rise in that Assembly, have been reprobated, the tranquil dignity with which intelligence of disasters has been usually sustained, and the manly exertions by which the tranquillity of Paris has been preserved on such occasions, must extort admiration from the most prejudiced of their detractors. As an instance in support of this remark, let the situation of public affairs be considered, at the time when the present Convention verified their Powers.

A second Revolution had just taken place : the country had demanded a Republic, the Constituted Authorities of the late Government were consequently suspended, and time was requisite to supply the deficiency with a legal substitution : personal fortitude and personal authority therefore in the new Delegates could only prevent the total disorganization of the system. The change had been more critical and universal than that which took place in 1789. Then new modifications were introduced into the existing Government : now both the

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form and the substance was destroyed, to be created anew : the machinations of the adherents to Royalty were consequently to be obviated, the concealed ambition of pretended Champions for Republicanism was to be suppressed, and the enormities of a desperate and worthless band, who render periods of difficulty subservient to their own purposes of rapacity and violence, of whose fury such melancholy examples had recently been witnessed, were to be restrained.

Here one would think was sufficient employment for all good citizens; but to complete the accumulation of their distractions, the enemy was advancing to their gates, and the apprehensions of civil discord were absorbed in the imminence of that destruction, by which a noble and populous city was to expiate its offences, committed against Royalty. But amidst these multiplied calamities, the spirit of the Nation remained unbroken : the Convention proceeded in the business allotted them with united vigour and deliberation : they employed themselves in forming a Constitution, which the machinations of foreign powers threatened to render abortive : they gave its due share of attention to every measure

sure which could insure internal tranquillity; they combated the fears and quickened the exertions of the multitude, and declared their resolution, that they would remain at their posts, and be buried under the ruins of their Hall, sooner than desert the Metropolis, or betray the confidence of their Constituents. Let not the prejudice of opinion, or reluctance to acknowledge the merits of an adversary, withhold the approbation due to these instances of patriotism: let not the mention of facts, which are founded in reality, and will form a distinguished chapter in the history of mankind, be imputed to the sinister motive, of depreciating by comparison the virtues of our countrymen; but to a sincere desire of representing existing circumstances in their true colours, and carrying my fellow-citizens from the examination of truth to the knowledge of their true interests.

Nor did the people at large neglect to emulate the constancy of their Representatives; the cheerfulness with which all classes, women as well as men, assisted to work in the entrenchments which were forming round Paris; the fortitude with which they supported the idea of an enemy at the very barriers
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of the Capital ; the obedience rendered to the decrees of the Convention, mark the determined character of this newly modelled people.

Nor can the scenes of tumult, which preceded or followed this epoch, invalidate the justice of the foregoing observations : the outrages to which I allude originated in different causes ; from the transactions of the 10th of August 1792, a suspicion had gone forth, that certain parties among the Citizens had conspired to deliver the country into the hands of the invaders ; hence arose the horrors of September. At enormities of this nature humanity shudders : but that the public indignation should be roused against the authors, real or supposed, of such a project, we cannot wonder, though our hearts recoil from the mode of executing vengeance : all men must regret, that the imputed criminality was not sifted and examined, and appropriate punishment inflicted on the offenders ; but that the innocent and the guilty were involved in one confusion, and fell victims to the temporary tyranny of anarchy. I must take occasion however to refute the calumnies by which the whole French Nation has been aspersed, in
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consequence of these lamented transactions; they have from hence been said, as a people, to be sanguinary and barbarous in their dispositions; but such a general conclusion from the evidence of particular facts is a libel, not upon the French, but upon human nature.* There is no nation under the sun that deserves to be branded with such an accusation; the force of interest or passion may warp men from their duty; the savage may be influenced to the perpetration of murder by the dictates of revenge, or for the possession of a skin; the civilized barbarian may be induced, by the temptations which corrupt governments hold forth, to plot the destruction of his rival: but remove the temptation, remove

* So far is it from being true that the executions of September 1792, indicate the ferocious disposition of Frenchmen in general, that English travellers who were in Paris at the time declare, that the whole massacre was perpetrated by not more than fifty persons. It will be considered as disgraceful to the public that such barbarities were not resisted; but those who recollect the riots in London in 1780, will acknowledge that there is in all large bodies an astonishing torpor, which prevents them from resisting the violence of a desperate banditti; till compelled by the urgent necessity of self-defence.

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the sin that does most easily beset the individual or the nation, and you will not find that God has dealt unequally by his creatures, that he has granted a monopoly of all the virtues to this or that nation, in civilized or in savage life, or that he has connected the true knowledge of himself with an adherence to any particular system of human policy, as state-fanatics in their unwise zeal have lately endeavoured to evince.

To return to our particular case; either such conspiracies were really formed, or the charge was fabricated; if the plots existed, what wonder that the dregs of the people, the refuse and scorn of the community, by whom these terrors were executed, should be wrought on by their malicious and designing leaders, to adopt danger as a pretext for plunder? If fabricated, great was the guilt of the fabricators; but the influence of the fabrication on the minds of the populace, whom it deceived, was in proportion to the consequences that would have attended the reality. The passions of the people have since that time carried them to great lengths on several occasions, and to a severity

verity of punishment unprecedented: this effect is to be referred to civil dissensions as its cause; their prosecution of the Emigrants, of the Rebels of La Vendée, of the Brissotines, has been unrelenting; for they have considered these factions as unnatural, because domestic enemies; but it does not appear that they have treated prisoners of war with less humanity, than the opposite party have shewn to theirs. But objections such as these, allowing them to be just, do not affect my argument: I still aver that the common cause has been supported with energy; that when the Duke of Brunswick was on his march to Paris, unanimity sprang out of discord: that the nation shook off the trammels of prejudice and party; and that every man at that moment laboured for the one great object; the support of national independence and the extirpation of the invaders.

I have dwelt the longer on the civil dissensions of France, because it is a strong point in my argument, that we derive little reason for consolation or hope from those dissensions. When have the squabbles of the Convention paralyzed the activity of the
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Armies? Even now, when the Sycophants of the Minister exult in the application of the adage, "a house divided against itself cannot stand," are not the French arms victorious in every quarter? Does not Germany shrink at their vicinity? A nation that can shew itself so formidable amidst the contentions of party, will it not be still more formidable if unanimity should ensue? If the armies partake not the spirit of distrust and insurrection, of what avail to us is the existence of that spirit in remote provinces?*

But there is reason to apprehend that we are deceived in that particular: that parties are consolidated in France, that the voice of the Nation has confirmed the leaders of

* Cependant une année vient de s'écouler au milieu des combats, et rien encore n'a fait fléchir les résistances! L'édifice est lézardé par les secousses intérieures, mais les colonnes vacillantes ne perdent point leurs predestaux. Pas une ville n'ouvre volontairement ses portes; pas un bataillon ne déserte ses drapeaux, pas une armée ne cède le terrain sans le disputer avec acharnement; le cri de Royauté n'a pas encore passé la Loire inférieure; le fanatisme s'alimente par les calamités; les soldats meurent, d'autres les remplacent; on n'aperçoit ni terreur, ni lassitude, ni résipiscence. Mallet du Pan, page 40.

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the Mountain in their authority, and that the present system is, with very few dissentients, the decided election of the people.

The circumstances which have lately been adduced in Parliament as reasons for the continuance of the war, are such as, if justly considered, must extinguish the hope of crushing the power of our Opponents. It has been argued, that the supplies, which their Executive Government has hitherto obtained for carrying on their operations, must soon fail ; the principle on which they are levied being unjust in itself, and exciting revolt among the Citizens. But where does this appear ? The expedients which they have adopted seem likely to afford them resources for a long time to come ; and whatever an opulent Aristocracy may think of their justice, they cannot fail to accord with the sentiments of the multitude : since the aim of the Legislature has uniformly been, to proportion every man's burden to his ability ; to require from wealth contributions adequate to its superfluities, that the narrow pittance of industrious poverty may not be invaded by the pressing necessities of the times. An observation frequently made by Mr. Fox, " that

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it is impossible to devise productive taxes, that will not ultimately fall upon the lower classes," is just, as applied to our own, and other established governments ; but means have been found in France to obviate this difficulty, which though generally reprobated as unjust, I cannot find in my heart to censure or regret : I mean heavy exactions from persons known to be wealthy, and restrictions on the indulgence of luxury. They have literally reduced to practice what Mr. Martin, a respectable Member, pleasantly suggested to the House of Commons : that rather than the poor man, who had only bread and cheese, should be reduced to a crust of bread alone, the National Representatives, and other great men might be reduced to dine on one course instead of two.

To revert to the extraordinary resources of France ; in the first place, they have appropriated the gold and silver of the Churches to the expences of the community ; and for this act of sacrilege they have been furiously anathematized by the pious devotees of the Hierarchy, both in and out of Parliament. But surely there was nothing so
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very exceptionable to the eye of reason in this proceeding. What glory to God, what advantage to man could accrue from the splendid baubles of superstitious ceremony? What should prevent the precious metals and stones, which had been sequestered for ages from all purposes of utility, from being applied to the immediate exigencies of the state? But it is said, the people had no right to seize on these valuables without the consent of their owners, the Clergy. A Legislature appointed by the people are certainly justified in arranging and distributing property to the greatest benefit of the public: upon this principle it is that Acts of Parliaments are passed for forming canals, or widening thoroughfares in cities: in which cases the individual proprietors of lands or houses are obliged to surrender their property to the community, to their private detriment, for an indemnification in their own opinion perhaps greatly insufficient. Upon this equitable principle a little extended, the appropriation of Ecclesiastical ornaments might possibly be justified. But we may go upon different grounds; and with much propriety argue, that the Clergy had no property in them: they were of the
nature

nature of fixtures in the Church, placed there to expedite the reciprocal duties of the worshipper and the officiating Minister. When the worshippers wished to transfer them, having no further use for them in their devotions, to civil purposes, what ground of complaint had the Priest, who was supposed to derive as little temporal benefit from silver saints and golden chalices as the Layman? It has turned out indeed, to the mortification of the prophane plunderers, that spiritual consolation alone did not attach the Fathers to these objects of their adoration : many a bedizened Virgin of the Church has been stripped of her real Diamonds, and glittered in the almost equal splendor of Parisian paste. But whether the seizure of this property be conformable to justice or not, one thing is certain, in which we **are** materially concerned ; that the measure has enriched their Treasury to a degree, which can hardly be credited but by those, who have witnessed the external magnificence, and are acquainted with the concealed storehouses of the Catholic Churches.

Another resource arises from the rigor,
with which persons of real property are taxed
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for the maintenance of the Republic. This has been alleged to be a future opening for civil commotions, and but a transitory advantage in the hands of the Convention. Reasons have before been given for supposing, that the people will uphold their Administration in a measure, which exonerates the industrious from the partial severity of taxation: but the proposition from which the foregoing inference is derived must be noticed; no Minister in this country would dare to go such lengths against the landed and commercial interests, which in such a case would unite, and hurl him from his seat of power: the ruling Powers in France have deeply trenched upon the lawful rights of these classes, from a time-serving predilection towards the mob; and thence it is inferred that the time is at hand, when the respectable people of the country will join to arrest the desperate course of a faction, and restore decency and subordination in the management of the National concerns. But a contrary inference may with equal propriety be drawn from this circumstance: if persons, who from superiority of talents and improvement, from the influence which property gives to every man among his neighbourhood,

bourhood, must necessarily acquire considerable weight in society; if such persons have not opposed these requisitions of the Executive Power with all their influence, if they have been contented to endure more than persons of their own station in other countries would endure; what I would ask is the cause of these concessions, but that this phantom of liberty is to their deranged optics a substance; that they do not feel themselves grievously afflicted, by what we consider as the miseries of their situation? Much has been said about the means employed to keep the country in subjection: but that the nation, which can shew itself so powerful against foreign invaders, should be unable to crush its domestic oppressors, if it saw them in the light of oppressors, is an inconsistency for which I cannot account.

The same deference to the Convention, which appears on the subject of finance, may be observed in other branches of the Government, in all the proceedings of the Citizens. In obedience to the decrees of the Legislature, Generals have been arrested at the head of their Armies, and carried before the tribunal of justice: no murmur has been
heard

heard against the authority which directed the measure; no mutiny has ensued from the attachment of the Soldiers to their cashiered Officers, or from the hardships of the service to themselves: no instance can be adduced in which a Regiment has refused to face the enemy, or to supply with the enthusiasm of courage the deficiency of numbers or of discipline. In vain does the British Minister assert, that these exertions, which he confesses to be extraordinary, must be of short duration, as proceeding solely from the fear of the Guillotine. Whence does this fear of the Guillotine arise? Who has the directions of its operations? The people of whom the armies are a part. Their bravery Mr. Pitt avers to be the effect of terror. What should terrify an armed nation? What are Danton* and Robespierre, what the Convention, unless supported by the People? They have no force, no authority but the approbation of their Constituents: why then do not those Constituents, marshalled in military array, instead of combating, assist the friendly intentions of the

* This question has recently been answered by the Revolutionary Tribunal.

Combined Powers, subvert the institutions of their unprotected Legislators, and restore the ancient establishment, for which in their hearts they languish? The fact is, they do not languish for the restoration of Despotism: they do not feel towards the Convention as we think they feel; they approve the changes that have taken place, and will uphold the new system to the utmost of their abilities.*

But the most striking proof of the Conventional Power, is the decree of requisition. This was a bold and unprecedented measure; and as such was the subject of cavil and ridicule all over Europe, and its execution considered to involve an impossibility. But impossibilities have more than once been realized by the French; and the

* To shew the small hopes which sensible writers on the side of the Royalists entertain from a Counter Revolution, M. Mallet du Pan makes the following observation on the term "contre-revolution; mot qui impliquant le rétablissement absolu de tout ce qui a été changé ou aboli, devait être pros crit au moins par la prudence, et qui, devenu le signal du fanatisme, a donné plus de bras à la République que la cocarde tricolore." *Considérations*, page 50.

effects with which this measure has been attended, are at once unexpected and alarming. It was foretold, that these newly-raised multitudes, undisciplined and refractory, would only create confusion in the ranks, and expedite the ruin of the cause; but these objects of scorn and laughter have defeated the most experienced Generals, and put to flight the best appointed Armies of the present times: nor is there any occurrence during the progress of this hard-fought contest, that has so entirely thwarted the measures of the Combination, as the insurrection of the People en masse.* The late alarming successes which they have obtained, have extorted from a plausible Orator in Office the unfortunate confession, that they are an armed nation; which is tantamount to a confession that they are invincible.

Much has lately been said respecting a

* Lorsque la Convention rendit ce décret digne de Xercés, par lequel elle ordonnait une levée subite et extraordinaire de 300,000 hommes, on riait de mepris, et la raison le justifiait. Cependant, cette armée subsidiaire s'est formée en très grande partie, au milieu de murmures sans effet, et de mécontentemens sans énergie. Mallet du Pan, page 43.

deficiency of arms and ammunition, and concerning a scarcity of provisions; the assertion respecting arms is untrue, as 300,000 stand of arms have been delivered to the People in the space of one year; with regard to the articles of ammunition and provisions, the truth of report cannot easily be ascertained; but with regard to the former, the late arrival of ships from India has probably, thanks to the indefatigable diligence of the British Admiralty, furnished them with the necessary supply of salt-petre: and the vigorous measures which the Committee of Public Safety are taking for the prevention of luxurious waste, for a regular supply, and an equal distribution of provisions, seem likely to remedy those temporary difficulties, which monopoly rather than scarcity must have occasioned; since the fruits of a plentiful harvest last year, and the general cultivation of corn or potatoes in grounds which were formerly laid out as Gardens or Parks, must have tolerably supplied the deficiency of importation.

Much ridicule has been employed in describing the bare condition of the Sans-Culotte armies: but persons, who by having visited the

the scene of action may be allowed to form a fair judgment, have asserted that the French are better provided in the article of clothing than any troops in the field; notwithstanding the Ladies of Great-Britain have lately figured in the capacity of Army-Tailors.

To sum up the catalogue of their advantages, their superiority in the knowledge of engineering is acknowledged throughout Europe; their attainments in philosophy and useful arts are known to be unrivalled; and what is most extraordinary, the labours of their celebrated Academy have been prosecuted with unabated diligence, throughout the progress of this inveterate contest. In short, when we consider that we are encountering opponents, whose resources are so numerous as to be incalculable; all whose refinements of art and discoveries of science are converted into instruments, for augmenting the terrors of their prowess, we must confess the hazard to be fearful, and the advantages of success inadequate to be balanced against the probable consequences of defeat. Those splendid exertions, which the Government of this Country has treated
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as casual and transitory, are now by continuance and repetition resolved into system; those hopes, which the capture of one or two frontier towns excited in the early part of the campaign, have been defeated by the repulses which the Combined Armies have recently experienced on the borders of the Rhine: notwithstanding the victories proclaimed in Ministerial harangues, not a single doubt can be entertained by unprejudiced persons, but that the condition of the whole Confederacy has suffered considerable deterioration since the commencement of the war. Much as we exult in the events of the Campaign, the French exult equally in those events: their spirits, in spite of the famine which is said to stare them in the face, are buoyed up with the most animating sentiments; their alacrity appears redoubled in the prosecution of their object; their madness, if such it be, has method in it: they seem to have resolved on the extinction of personal pique and interested animosity; on the restoration of that unanimity, by which the first Revolution was rendered successful, and on a final pacification on no other terms, than the recognition of their sovereignty as a nation.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

RECAPITULATION.

THUS have I traced the circumstances in which this country and France stand, as opposed to each other in a state of warfare: and it is necessary here to observe, that any invidious parallel between the Constitutions of the two countries, in regard to their nature or influence over the public mind, has been carefully avoided: such points only have been touched upon, as loudly call for investigation from every friend to his country; the discussion of which can afford no reasonable cause for offence, to the most zealous assertor of limited monarchy. Before I draw towards a conclusion, it will be proper for the sake of perspicuity to bring my comparative statement of circumstances to one point. On the one hand, we have seen all the leading powers of Europe rising in arms against a single nation: on the other, that single nation, fired with enthusiasm, preparing to resist so formidable a combination.

tion. As action succeeded to preparation, we have seen the progress of the united powers impeded by contrariety in the object of their different pursuits; by those fermentations which always take place, when a temporary alliance is formed between interests naturally discordant for the attainment of a present object: we have seen the French retaliating invasion on the invaders, simply by the force of unanimity and confidence: we have heard of Austrians and Prussians more inimical to each other than to the French, and we know that we are bound by treaty to indemnify our Allies for the defence of their own territories: we find our enemies on the contrary burying the meaner feelings of personal consideration in the disinterested service of their country; neither subsidizing nor subsidized, but depending for their preservation on the patriotism of their fellow-citizens: discipline on the one hand has yielded to impetuosity, impetuosity on the other has learnt from experience the lesson of discipline: the motives of action being indefinite in one party, the measures that have been adopted have been complicated in their plan, and unsuccessful in their execution: independence and security
being

being the definite motives of the other party, they have been enabled to proportion their means to their end ; all their operations have been on a simple, and though extensive, practicable scale ; the effect corresponding to the design, and fatally convincing the incredulity of their antagonists.

When we contrast the civil condition of the two countries, we experience a remarkable dissimilarity : on the one hand burdens are increased, while resources are diminished ; while trade and manufactures languish and decline, the connections of great and noble families are enriched by the spoils of war, and pensions to the third and fourth generation annexed to offices, of which the duties were destined to last but for three or four months : on the other, the pressure of necessary expences alleviated, by abolishing the luxurious profusion of a Court, and suppressing the redundant privileges of a Priesthood and Nobility ; the most exalted services rewarded with civic honours, and the peculation of office sacrificed to the enjoyment of public confidence and applause. On the one hand, a luxurious nation, as England is become throughout all but the
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lowest classes of society; where the conveniences and elegancies of life are more generally cultivated and more highly prized by the middling ranks than in any country in Europe; where the progress of luxury seems too likely to undermine the manliness of the national character; on the other hand, a country, where not only luxury, but comfort was formerly monopolized by the Aristocracy of the land; where the mass of the people, inured to misery without prospect of melioration or relief, can the more patiently undergo the hardships to which they have been accustomed, and refrain from the gratifications not yet matured for their enjoyment, when they reflect that the harvest, in which they have hitherto only laboured, is about to yield its produce to themselves; when they consider that they have every thing to gain, and their Antagonists every thing to lose.

This comparison is unfavorable to the prevalent opinions and wishes of the time; but for its justice the only appeal that can be made, is to the feelings and sober reflection of the public at large; and to those who view the subject in that light in which it is here represented, it may with propriety be urged,

urged, that their duty towards their fellow-citizens requires them to put forth every exertion, consistent with the regulations of society and their condition in life, to bring to a speedy termination, a contest, in which the most important interests of Great-Britain and of mankind are so prodigally sacrificed to the visionary projects of Statesmen.

C H A P. IV.

C O N C L U S I O N.

RELYING with some degree of confidence on the validity of the foregoing assertions, I will endeavour from the retrospection of the past, to chalk out the path of prudence for the future.

What is the object to which men of all descriptions and opinions, however zealous for the prosecution of the war, however unreasonable in their expectations of success, direct their ultimate attention? Peace. None are so senseless or so frantic, as to deny that war is a calamity : we cannot but suppose that it is universally considered as an evil, in which nothing short of indispensable necessity should involve a nation ; the speedy conclusion of which, when once incurred, should occupy the united endeavours of all parties, and constitute the prime wish of every respectable character in public or in private life. What then are the means by which peace may be obtained? The following is the alternative ;
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absolute conquest, or reciprocal negotiation : with regard to the former, if there be any truth in the preceding remarks, the total improbability of such an issue must be acknowledged.

And are we to be reduced to despair by difficulties and objections, conjured up in the chimerical imagination of an unknown pamphleteer ? The seeming impossibility attending the conquest of France does not rest on so sandy a foundation ; the rationality of the assertion, that a country, so strongly fortified by nature and by art ; so formidable by its population, and so fertile in its interior resources, will be capable of repelling the most powerful invaders from its territory, has been attested by military men of the most consummate skill, and the strongest predilection for the land of their nativity. The opinions of those sturdy Politicians, who plan the victorious operations of an offensive war in the Box of a Coffee-House, are in this instance refuted by the authoritative testimony of a Duke of Marlborough ; by the just and conclusive reasonings of a General Lloyd, and by the personal experience of a Duke of Brunswick : a stream of authorities, which our warlike Administration

tion have hitherto attempted to oppose: but now, when not the labours of a whole Campaign, nor even the Generalship of the first Law Lord in the Kingdom, have been able to produce any material impression on that impracticable Frontier, even they begin to perceive the errors of their system, and to despair of its success: and unless the calamities of famine should opportunely interpose for their assistance, they will be considerably embarrassed to procure sustenance for the hopes of their partizans, who daily feed on the Continental miseries, so minutely described in the authentic correspondence of the Treasury Newspapers.

Since then the movers and conductors of hostilities, together with the most experienced professors of military science, are unable any longer to indulge the expectation of conquest, the road to peace can lead only through negotiation: a measure, which, had it been adopted in the commencement of the rupture, might have prevented all those embarrassments, commercial and civil, which have been so prejudicial to the mercantile interests of the Kingdom, and so distressing to the feelings of national patriotism. But it is in vain to dwell

on the mistakes of the past; their mention is impertinent, except as it leads to the correction of the future: but the inconveniences we have already suffered from the omission of a duty should stimulate us to the performance of it with the greatest alacrity. That a negotiation must finally take place between ourselves, and the nation with whom we are embroiled, we are fully satisfied: how great soever may be our pride, however lofty our ambition, in the present complicated state of our Finances, "to this completion we must come at last."

That we must ultimately negotiate has been acknowledged by the Minister: but will any man say that the present is the proper season for negotiation? Whatever may be the sentiments of the statesman on the subject, the Moralist will argue, that the immediate is the most suitable time for accomplishing a just and laudable purpose: and there is every reason to believe, that morality will not on this, or on any other occasion, be found to be at variance with policy. We might, if the fetters of alliance and the inflexibility of punctilio impeded not the exercise of our understandings, accommodate our unfortunate differences with
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as much convenience and advantage to ourselves at the present, as at any future period : that we should come off victorious in a contest, to which our powers are utterly unequal, in which we seem to be contending against the appointments of Providence and the constitution of humanity, is a supposition too romantic to be indulged ; and if this be not the case, there appears no probability, that our circumstances will hereafter be more favourable than at present to a happy termination : but on the contrary, should the progress of the French arms remain uninterrupted, should the current of fortune continue to flow with their bark, it is more than possible, we may hereafter be compelled to measures, which now we might voluntarily, and therefore creditably adopt : the catastrophe of the American tragedy may be repeated, and the retraction of our lordly manifestoes be stipulated, as a preliminary to the desired accommodation.

Nor will it be considered by the friends of humanity as a trivial argument, in favour of a speedy pacification, that by this method only can that effusion of blood be prevented, by which the territories of the aggressors and the aggrieved are equally depopulated, and the
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members of the state, its most valuable treasure, dispersed and destroyed with unfeeling prodigality.

But do not obstacles exist, which render a present treaty dangerous if not impracticable? I can discover no obstacles which a willing disposition may not easily surmount. It has been asserted with much confidence, that our solemn declarations, made on the faith of the nation to our allies, and the preservation of order so necessary to the welfare of society, conspire to form an insurmountable objection against the establishment of peace, while the government of France remains in the hands of the present leading men: men who, neither reverencing the Omnipotence of Heaven, nor respecting the ordinances of civil society, assume the habit of Liberty as a covering to their ambition, and having involved the land of their nativity in irremediable calamity, are panting to destroy throughout the world the wise institutions of their forefathers, and to establish on the foundation of unbridled licentiousness the second reign of anarchy and barbarism. If our Governors have really pledged us to a measure of so doubtful an issue, as that of waging war to the extermination of certain parties or principles,

ciples, entertained and supported in a foreign country, unprecedented has been their temerity : if our comrades require the performance of our engagements in their fullest extent, we may be held to persevere in this fatal enmity from year to year, till domestic calamity, conspiring with foreign machinations, may reduce us to the brink of ruin, and our pertinacity engage us to the commission of political suicide. But let us hope we are not so deeply involved, and that the preservation of our civil existence will never be found incompatible with the line of conduct to which we are bound : should that ever be our unhappy case, miserable will be their lot, who witness the commotions and conflicts of those times.

Not supposing that we are further engaged than prudence warrants, or that those, to whom the Constitution has intrusted the Discretionary Power of war or peace, have been so imprudent as to divest themselves of that power, I will proceed to notice the argument against present negotiation, which rests upon the characters and views of the political leaders in France. Whether they really meditate such diabolical designs as are imputed to them, of erecting a bloody anarchy on the ruins of
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social subordination, may with some shew of reason be doubted; that their countrymen do not suspect them of such intentions, is sufficiently evident from the cordiality with which they are supported by a numerous majority: for that the body of inhabitants in any district or realm should coincide in so preposterous a system, or imagine that they could have an interest in subverting the useful regulations of a community, and poisoning the blessings of civilization with the infusion of systematic violence and barbarity, is a supposition too wild and chimerical to be countenanced by any philosophic reasoner. Such unnatural schemes may be engendered in the brain of an aspiring demagogue: but the monsters will ever be destroyed in the moment of their birth, by the just abhorrence of an enlightened people, impelled by the dictates of reason and nature; and in the establishment of their own, providing for the maintenance of universal Liberty.

But granting the epithets bestowed upon French Legislators to be merited, I deny that from the unworthiness of their characters a conclusion may be fairly drawn, that it would be unadvisable in our present circumstances to

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treat with them. Mr. Burke has endeavoured to irritate the minds of the English against the French, and extinguish their desire for mutual amity and good will, by brandishing a theatrical dagger in the House of Commons; in his writings and speeches he has arranged his machinery with considerable art, and produced his Pantomimical horrors with effect; but however successfully he may have exerted his power over the human feelings, a power which notwithstanding his eccentricities he eminently possesses, it still remains true, that with the perpetrators of these enormities we must at last enter into an accommodation.

But let us enter a little into the consequences which would result from the general admission of the principle laid down on this particular occasion. When we are convinced that the termination of a war will be expedient for our own interests, are we to prolong its calamities to ourselves, till the reformation and repentance of our enemy shall have rendered him worthy to participate in the blessings of peace? Are we become such formidable champions in the cause of morality, that we should exhaust our own strength, and endanger our own security, rather than suffer the wickedness of our

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neighbour

neighbour to remain unpunished? No peace can be effected with honour or with safety, till the present ambitious and unprincipled Administration of France is displaced. If this maxim is to be erected into a general rule, if no treaty of peace or commerce is to be concluded between two nations, without an undeniable certificate can be obtained that the parties are actuated by honourable and equitable motives, the horrors of war may be perpetuated from generation to generation, and the inhabitants of each separate region be unsociably insulated within the limits of their respective territories. If, before we negotiate with the Ministers of a foreign country, we are to require the severity of moral rectitude, and the perfection of political integrity and candor at their hands, can we reasonably expect ever to negotiate? Are these valuable qualities liberally implanted in the breasts of Statesmen? Are we certain that the succeeding routine of Governors in France will soar nearer to the summit of our expectations than the present? Have we been equally scrupulous in ascertaining the disinterested philanthropy of our Allies, as in probing the moral turpitude of our Antagonists? Have the members of the Cabinet at St. James's afforded a splendid example
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of Ministerial incorruptibility, and thus established their right to assume the offices of censors, to pass judgment on the character and conduct of the Diplomatic world? Woe be to you, ye foreign Ambassadors, Emigrants, or Military schemers, who crowd the Office of the Minister to consult on the affairs of war, if ye approach that holy place with unclean hands or polluted hearts; these Puritans of State, these austere Round-heads of the political world have declared in the face of the whole nation, that "they would rather choose to persevere in the war even amidst the worst disasters, and should deem such a conduct much more safe and honourable, than to conclude a peace with the ruling powers in France upon their present system:"* doubtless because it is a system of immorality and injustice. Beware then how you yield to the temptations of ambition, lest you incur the virtuous displeasure of the British Administration: divide the spoil of Poland among ye quietly, it shall be overlooked; drive the harmless, but besotted Turk from his seat of Empire, the violence shall be pardoned; these are venial of-

* Vide Mr. Pitt's Speech on the opening the present Session.

fences: but aspire to put the multitude in possession of their rights, attempt to aggrandize your King and Country, by securing the liberty and property of your fellow-citizens from the strides of power, or connive at such dangerous ambition in others, and you shall be denounced as innovators on the settled forms of governments, as enemies to the established subordination of society, as Demagogues and Enthusiasts, Atheists and Assassins.

But if we descend from the sublimities, into which the nice feelings of these Moralists elevate them, and examine the plain truth, we shall be convinced that this ideal standard of integrity is never set up, but when some private purposes are to be served. The present rulers of France are unworthy to negotiate with the British Minister, because the British Minister does not think it to his present purpose to negotiate with them; but should he in the course of time alter his opinion, and wish to prevent "the worst disasters" by concluding a peace, he would then discover it to be sufficient, that any set of men are at the head of affairs in a country with which we are embroiled, however they may have attained that situation, or however they may conduct themselves

selves in it, to warrant us in adopting such
 arrangements with them, as may appear to be
 for the interests of our own community. There
 is a palpable absurdity in the affectation of dis-
 daining to treat with any potentate, who is in a
 condition to levy war against us : it is not the
 honour or punctilio of this party or that,
 which is to be consulted, but the permanent
 benefit and happiness of the nations which are
 engaged in the contest. Are we then to ne-
 gotiate with ruffians ? with banditti ? Yes. Let
 us remember to hold their vices in abhorrence,
 and we shall not be contaminated by their in-
 tercourse.

But the most material objections to negotia-
 tion remain to be answered ; the declaration
 on the part of France of eternal war against
 Monarchy, and the resolution against treating
 with any power, which occupies the smallest
 part of their territory, or refuses to acknow-
 ledge the independent sovereignty of their Re-
 public. With respect to the first article of this
 charge, the decree which declared war against
 all the establishments of Europe was either the
 offspring of insanity or of artifice : it origi-
 nated either in the romantic scheme of con-
 solidating all Europe into one immense Re-
 public,

public, a scheme which from its notorious impracticability required not a serious opposition, or, as has been strongly suspected, in the criminal design of affording a specious plea to the surrounding powers, who were waiting for an opportunity to join the Germanic combination. Be it what it might, it perished in the grave of its Authors. The predominant party of the present day did at the time, and do still express their hearty disapprobation of that obnoxious measure of universal fraternization, and went so far as to adopt it as a leading accusation against that ill-fated faction. It is well known to all who acquaint themselves with the affairs of France, that the Convention have expressly declared their determination, not to interfere with the internal arrangements of other countries, but to assert their own inviolability, and proceed against their enemies, not by argument and persuasion, but by terror and violence.

I cannot conceive what grounds a repealed decree can afford for declining to negotiate ; but still the ambition of the Convention and their appetite for conquest is reiterated, and it is asserted from high authority that any peace that we could obtain in the present circumstances,

stances, would be but a transitory and delusive calm.

In our negotiations with Monarchical States we have never found, nor did we ever expect to find, that the pacific engagements, into which we have been induced to enter, would be regarded inviolable, like the laws of the Medes and Persians: but this circumstance of possible instability has never operated as an objection against such engagements, when the policy of the government has favoured their formation. Why then should we be so delicately scrupulous in our measures towards a Republic, unless it be true, that there is an implacable animosity against Republicanism in the attendants and Ministers of Monarchy?

But it is idle to avoid a desirable and necessary peace, from the apprehension that the ambition of our Antagonists may induce them to infringe its articles at a future period. Surely we may place equal dependence on the faith of the Convention, as on the faith of Louis the XIVth, or any other Monarch of France; princes, who have been generally actuated in their conduct by a thirst of universal dominion, and a restless jealousy of British greatness. It
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has been said by the Official Orator of the House of Commons, that the aspiring views of Louis the XIVth, were accompanied with exalted sentiments of honour, that noble and humanizing principle which predominates in the actions of Kings, and reconciles the passion for absolute sway with the interests of civilization: but the views of aggrandizement entertained by the modern Republicans are founded in selfishness and sensuality, those unworthy feelings of ignoble minds, which influence them to reduce the superiority of refined society to their own plebeian level, to destroy the beautiful creations of art throughout the cultivated world, and wrest the discoveries of science to the establishment of popular tyranny and political fanaticism. This contrast between Monarchical and Republican ambition may serve to discover to the public the principles of its author, but will produce no conviction in the minds of considerate and unprejudiced persons.

Precedent being the rule by which it is the custom of modern times to regulate actions, let us consider whether it has been usual for the Conductors of public counsels to proceed upon these arbitrary and sophistical distinctions.

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There is no period in the Annals of Great-Britain, in which the alliance of England has been more universally courted,* than during the continuance of the Commonwealth: nor did the Ministers of the surrounding Potentates, though for the most part devoted to the cause of despotism, imagine that the system, which prevailed among the leading party here, afforded them any reasonable grounds for kicking against the pricks, and hazarding a contest with so formidable a rival.

Granting all this to be true, and that we have equal reason to expect the observance of engagements from the present Government of France, as from an arbitrary power, they still argue the inexpediency of present Negotiation from the haughty behaviour assumed by the Republic. Let any overture be made on the

* "Never did the annals of humanity furnish the example of a government, so newly established, so formidable to foreign states as was at this period the English commonwealth. To Republics the object of envy, to Monarchs of hate, to both of fear, it was assiduously courted by all the powers of Europe. London was full of Ambassadors, to endeavour, for their respective superiors, to excuse former demerits, to renew former treaties, and to court stricter alliances with England." Macaulay's History of England. vol. v. chap. iii.

part of England or her Allies; the French, encouraged by their late successes, and relying on the energy of their new character, might not improbably be induced to reject all conciliatory proposals, or accept them only on terms so humiliating to their Adversaries, as to give a severe wound to the delicacy of British honour, and degrade us from the exaltation to which we have deservedly been raised in the scale of European nations. These are the unfounded arguments of pride; of that haughtiness in ourselves which we condemn in others: let the conditions we propose be such, as may be honourable for us to offer, and creditable for them to accept, and there is no reason to believe that they are so enamoured of the calamities inseparable from war, as to spurn our liberal advances; or if they do, so far shall we be from suffering a diminution of our dignity by an unmerited repulse, that we shall have made known to the world the moderation of our views, shall have rescued our conduct from the imputation of mercenary motives, and have given a colour of justice to our attempting by force those objects, which we have previously failed to attain by persuasion.

But let my meaning be fully understood when I recommend a proposal of accommodation : their advantage must be consulted equally with our own schemes of policy ; we must be equally tender of their independence, as tenacious of our own importance ; the reciprocal privileges of nations, the general good of society, the imprescriptible rights of humanity must form the basis of reconciliation ; the narrow views of partial aggrandizement must be absorbed in the pursuit of universal happiness, and the determinations of Cabinets and Courts for once must derive their tone from the principles of justice and philosophy. If we cannot prevail on ourselves to proceed on this scale of magnanimity, if we cannot sacrifice something of local and political prejudice to the promotion of philanthropy and peace ; to adopt the foregoing advice upon a contracted plan, to negotiate upon Machiavelian ideas with a Republic, will indeed be a fruitless attempt, and subject our unacceptable proposals to the insult of rejection.

Suppose it to be true that views of conquest are concealed under the mask of liberty and independence, I do not see why those views may not be more conveniently frustrated by
negotiation,

negotiation, than by arms; in a state of tranquillity we shall find leisure to fortify ourselves against their attacks, and to counteract the effects of their secret machinations; by protracting the period of hostilities, we incur the danger of debilitating our strength; we are led to adopt the pernicious policy of replacing our compatriot defenders, sent to be initiated in the discipline of despots, by the introduction of foreign mercenaries; we make the future prosperity of our country, nay, perhaps, the very existence of our valued Constitution, to depend on the event of a battle or the vicissitudes of a campaign.

But the opening of a treaty is to be preceded by the vacation of the enemy's territory; a circumstance which renders the very idea of pacification romantic and absurd.—Whatever it may be policy in us to determine upon this subject, to demand this concession, in them was wisdom; to treat with an enemy in possession of their frontier, would be to submit to the will of a master; to sign their own sentence of dismemberment. But shall we relinquish all the advantages we have gained, and then condescend to a negotiation? If the advantages
we

we have gained will purchase us a safe and honourable peace, and liberate us from the perplexity in which we are involved, we shall part with them for more than their value. For what are these advantages? We have been nibbling at the Northern boundaries of France for a twelvemonth, and have pilfered a town or two, which have been delivered to the Emperor: we have shared the labours of the campaign, and transferred the scanty profits to our Allies; we have equipped a tremendous fleet, and exposed our trade unprotected to our enemies.

But we have greater objects in our view, than the possession of a few Garrison towns on the Continent; we wish to preserve the acquisition of territory which we have already attained in the East-Indies, and hope to indemnify ourselves for the expences we have incurred by the capture of the French Islands in the West. I am not surprised that such should be the policy of Ministers; this species of indemnification must ever be consonant with their purposes; accession of patronage constitutes the milk and honey of these promised lands: but that the independent part of the
community

community should be influenced by such motives, and co-operate with the dividers of the spoil in the support of a destructive war, for the prosecution of designs, the utmost success of which will create no advantage to the people at large, will cause no augmentation of our natural resources, nor add a single article to the domestic comforts of the poor, appears unaccountable upon any known principles of common sense. The idea that national prosperity is advanced by foreign conquests, has long been exploded from the creed of reason; free commerce with distant countries is acknowledged to be more beneficial in its effects than the exercise of sovereignty; and those commodities both of use and luxury, which we derive from our Trans-Atlantic Empire, would come to us upon much easier terms, if every island were declared independent. Why then should we lay such stress on the retention of conquests, the glory of which is dubious, and the benefit nominal? Our advantages being so inconsiderable, the disgrace of relinquishing those advantages must be proportionably small; though there are who think that by a voluntary resignation of our pretensions, while yet there is any merit in the concession, we shall most effectually consult our own interest and reputation,

tation, and thus obviate that compulsory termination of our efforts, to which the most formidable nation or confederacy of nations is eventually destined, that aims at the subjugation of opinions, and the expulsion of Liberty from the very bosoms of its votaries.

Let our Governors only reconcile themselves to these necessary concessions, without which the duration of the war appears to be indefinite, and there remains but one more struggle for their pride, the acknowledgment of the French Republic. I appeal to the dispassionate judgment of my countrymen: can they, by any known rule of justice, according to any current system of policy, refuse such an acknowledgment? Is not France, like England, one of the sovereign, independent states of Europe? Have we ever been contented, that foreign potentates should question our sufficiency to legislate for ourselves, or should innovate our particular forms of government under colour of general benefit? In the last century, the people of England deviated at pleasure from a monarchical to a republican establishment, and reverted from republicanism to monarchy, as the temper of the times varied, indifferent to the approbation or censure of their contemporaries.

poraries.* The French claim only that licence, which the English have ever enjoyed : what is there so unreasonable in such a claim ?

The Papal hierarchy of Rome had for ages exercised jurisdiction over the consciences of our ancestors : as the power of truth began to operate, and men's minds became enlightened and enlarged, our forefathers revolted at the unnatural subjection, and asserted the rights of nature. The Holy Church was vehemently incensed against the authors of this impious rebellion : it vomited forth its anathemas of damnation, and instigated the superstitious prejudices of its adherents against a people, whose principles and practice menaced the very existence of the Catholic religion. But the spirit of Englishmen withstood the attacks of

* "As they had not intermeddled, nor did not intend to intermeddle, with the affairs of government of any other kingdom or state, so they did expect the like fair and equal dealing from abroad, and that they who were not concerned would not interpose in the affairs of England ; but in case of such an injury, they doubted not, by the courage and power of the English nation, and the good blessing of God, that they should be sufficiently enabled to make a full defence, and maintain their own rights." Declaration of the Long Parliament. Macaulay's History of England, vol. v. chap. ii.

Papal commination, and persevered to victory in those novel doctrines, so dreadfully denounced as repugnant against the temporal welfare, and destructive to the eternal salvation, of their professors. The French are now contending for civil, as we heretofore for religious liberty: and have we the audacity to arrest them in their progress, to whom we have marked out the track they should pursue? Let us not so far condemn our own exertions in former times, and hazard the security of our hard-earned acquisitions, as to join the phalanx of arbitrary princes, to the extinction of liberty and the violation of independence.

Should we once concur in the establishment of a precedent, by which the internal arrangements of individual states are rendered amenable to the regulation of a general confederacy, how soon may our present conduct be converted into the instrument of our own destruction! The Powers of Europe, sanctioned in their proceedings by our co-operation in the case of France, may hereafter dispute the supremacy of the British Legislature, and denounce the popular branch of our Constitution, as inimical to their plans of social subordination. Then shall we be sensible, when it is

too late, that in all attempts for the promotion of injustice, victory is worse than defeat, and the attainment of our object destined to be the punishment of our aggression. Modifications and limitations of monarchy are fearfully obnoxious to the pride of arbitrary power: in a congress of Continental Despots, the very shadow of a free representation would be protested against with every expression of abhorrence: and what a blessed code of laws would Great-Britain receive from the hands of Prussia, Spain, Russia, and the Dii Minorum Gentium, the petty Princes of the German Empire!

This last, if there were no other, would be a sufficient reason for our secession from the league of commissioned plunderers and ruffians; for our disbanding those legions of hunted Emigrants, whom we are alluring from their lurking places with the insidious bait of restitution; and for adopting that most excellent of all moral maxims, to measure our concessions to others by our expectations for ourselves: in other words, for our acknowledging without delay the inviolability of the French government, as we would that our own should on a future day be acknowledged. Let reason but
thus

thus far triumph over prejudice, and all other obstacles in the way of reconciliation will be easily surmounted: then may the diabolical idea of natural antipathy be effaced from the philosophized minds of both nations, and a lasting alliance be projected and established on the basis of reciprocal interests and consensaneous virtues.

The substance then and the design of the foregoing pages, is to repeat what has so often been ineffectually urged, but cannot be too frequently or too earnestly resubmitted to the consideration of the public; that the present is an important crisis, in which misconduct or error may be of the most fatal consequence; in which temerity and security are the forerunners of certain calamity; to suggest to all who have any voice in the direction of public concerns, that the nation is anxiously expecting the speedy return of peace; that the account to which those may be called, who sacrifice principle and a sense of general good to private ambition and the retention of lucrative offices, will probably be severe; and above every thing to recommend with all deference to higher powers, if they wish to be greeted with the acclamations of gratitude through life, and to transmit

transmit their names to succeeding ages with honourable celebrity, to heal the deadly wounds which the best interests of society are daily receiving from the hand of violence; to withdraw their slaughtering legions from an occupation so disgraceful to humanity; and, acting upon principles of true glory and laudable ambition, acknowledging the universal rights of man, and the just independence of separate communities, to arrest the present progress, and as far as in them lies, provide against the future revival of such unnatural and uncivilized atrocities: these things I would recommend to them, as they would avoid remorse of conscience, and the indignation of their species.

APPENDIX.

A P P E N D I X.

I Shall now devote a few pages to the notice of circumstances, the introduction of which in the preceding chapters would have interrupted the course of the argument, and which, though relevant, were not necessary to the establishment of my positions.

I have said in the first chapter, that the tax on paper and on Attornies appeared to me objectionable, though I thought it unnecessary in that place to insist on my objections. I will here mention the reasons for which I disapprove those taxes : that on paper in particular I consider as one of the most obnoxious, which has been imposed for many years. It operates as a check on the progress of information ; as a burden on a class of men, who ought to receive all possible encouragement from the state ; those who devote them-

selves

selves to literary retirement, and most effectually contribute to the public welfare, by the acquisition and diffusion of useful knowledge; but who are distinguished by the treasures of the mind, rather than the fulness of the purse. It may be considered as a concealed attack on the Liberty of the Press, and a sumptuary law against the instruction of those, to whom instruction is most necessary. That these were the views which materially contributed to its adoption, will appear from observing, that the onus falls on the inferior sorts of paper, which are used in printing in general, and particularly in the printing of cheap books: while the paper of superior texture, on which the Aristocracy, especially the female Aristocracy, delight to scribble their elegant nothings, and reiterate professions of unmeaning friendship in their truly invaluable correspondence, bears but a very inconsiderable proportion of the general pressure. It is this principle of taxation, as I have before hinted, against the injustice of which I am so thoroughly indignant: and I must declare, notwithstanding the general inveteracy against the French, that they apportion the burdens to the capacities of the bearers with a degree of judgment and equity, of which our Legislature falls infinitely short.

short. I hope the time will come, when every man will be taxed in proportion to his possessions; when an income of a thousand a year will contribute ten times as much towards the exigencies of the state, as an income of a hundred a year; in this consists the rational doctrine of equality.

With regard to the tax on Attornies, I disapprove the principle, though I do not know that it will produce any pernicious effects: it is calculated to convert the profession into an Aristocracy, and establish opulence as the criterion of merit. As to the ground on which it has been so much applauded, the exclusion of disreputable practitioners, the Chancellor of the Exchequer acknowledged to the House, that it was incompetent to attain so desirable an end, and that that reptile race would be able to elude all pursuit directed to their annihilation.

In examining the causes which gave birth to the French Revolution, I have in the second chapter traced the effects, which the writings of philosophers and literati gradually produced,

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from the age of Louis the XIVth, to the close of the ancient Monarchy. I have attributed the alteration of public sentiment to the lessons of those Masters: but there were many other circumstances contributory to the acceleration of that important event, of which I omitted the mention, that I might hasten to the main object of the Chapter, the present condition and resources of France. I will here notice two or three of those circumstances.

The foundation of the new edifice was laid in that spirit of philosophical investigation, which had gone forth among persons of condition, and gradually extended its influence under the auspices of Royalty: but it would probably have been long, before the mental revolution would have displayed itself in overt acts, had not the united imprudence and profligacy of the Court, the jealousy of the Aristocracy, and the derangement of the Finances at once combined to shake the pillars of Despotism, and restore to the body of the people their natural preponderance in the scale. When it became necessary to resort to the convocation of the States General; when an opposition of interest arose between the King and the Nobility, each party vied with the
other

other in giving consequence to the Tiers-Etat, and reinstating them in their violated rights.

The American war was a powerful means of forwarding the crisis of the Revolution. The exorbitant expences, in which that contest had involved France as well as England, reduced the government to those necessitous circumstances, which the Aristocracy had not the virtue to remedy, by a timely sacrifice of superfluities: which therefore could only be remedied, by extorting from the Peasantry the very sustenance of life, and settling the variable opinions of the people into rooted averfion. Nor was this the only method in which the American influenced the French Revolution. To the impolitic conduct of the Queen's party, in enlisting the slaves of despotism under the banner of liberty, is principally to be attributed the subsequent overthrow of Monarchy, and the individual sufferings of the Royal Family. The Queen's desire of humiliating the pride of England, induced her to combat with her influence the reluctance of her Consort, and extort an unwilling acquiescence in a measure, of which he seemed to foresee the destructive consequence. And what was the result? The
Officers

Officers and Soldiers entered into the merits of the cause, for which they were fighting; caught the spirit of enthusiasm, so congenial to their natures, and studied the conduct of their Allies as a model for their own imitation. Nor did a familiar acquaintance with the characters of Franklin and Washington contribute in a small degree, to strengthen the sentiments of patriotism in the bosoms of Frenchmen: while the political writings of Price, so obnoxious to the satellites of power, so animating to the champions of freedom, taught France as well as America to unite zeal with rationality, and instructed mankind in the connexion between the duties and the rights of human nature. The combination of the provinces of the Netherlands against the unjust violence of Philip of Spain, and the consequent emancipation of those countries, was an animating precedent in favour of the Americans in their struggle: the event was similar in both instances: and the history of the two contests presents so brilliant a spectacle to the view of France, as will encourage her to persevere in the race which she has begun, and by efforts of superior power to attain at least equal advantages. Thus does the example of one Revolution invariably contribute

bute towards the establishment of another, and facilitate the operations by which it is to be perfected.

The principal objection to an immediate peace, as has been stated in the fourth Chapter, arises from the instability of the present Government in France, and the infamous characters of the present leaders. I have endeavoured to expose the fallacy of this objection; and to shew that, whenever a disposition to treat appears in this country, it will be found that the possession of the Executive Authority is the only qualification, requisite to render any party fit persons, with whom to negotiate. But to shew that the present rulers in France are not so unacquainted with the obligations of duty, as they are represented; on the contrary that their ideas rise to an enviable sublimity, I shall transcribe a passage from the "Report of the Committee of Public Safety, on the internal policy of the Country, by Maximilian Robespierre," which I consider as unrivalled in its kind: it contains a complete system of morality; and if the French nation really act up to their profession, the continuance

tinuance of hostilities against them will be recorded as an aggression against the interests of humanity, which will reflect lasting disgrace on those powers, who remain obstinately implacable against Republican virtue. "Amongst us we wish to substitute Morality for Egotism; Probity for Honour; Principles for Customs; Duties for Politesse; the Empire of Reason for the Tyranny of Fashion; contempt of Vice for contempt of Misfortune; Nobleness for Insolence; Magnanimity for Vanity; the love of Glory for the love of Money; the enjoyment of Happiness for the ennui of Voluptuousness; the Dignity of the Man for the degeneracy of the Noble; a great, powerful and happy People, for a trifling, frivolous and miserable People; that is, all the Virtues, all the energies of a Republic, for all the Vices and all the Follies of Monarchy.

"We wish in short, to accomplish the ends of Humanity; to fulfil the promises of Philosophy; to destroy the reign of Tyranny and of Crimes; that France, formerly illustrious only amongst Nations of Slaves, may, by eclipsing the glory of every free People who have ever existed, become a model for other Nations;

Nations; a terror to Oppressors; the consolation of the Oppressed; the ornament of the Universe; and that, by cementing our work with our blood, we may at length behold the day-star of universal liberty. This is our ambition, this our only aim."

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